Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-017 *26 January 1994*

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Berov Tells Nation 'No Compromise' on Budget

AU2501121594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 25 Jan 94

["Statement by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov on the national budget"—recorded]

[Text] My fellow countrymen: I address you at a very important time for the development of our country. It is now more than one year since this government assumed the leadership of the country under conditions that were very difficult regarding both the international and domestic situation. Despite this, in 1993 we achieved important results in implementing the government program. Annual inflation decreased 15 percent. The fall in industrial output was sharply decreased. A provisional trade agreement was signed between Bulgaria and the European Union. Agreement was reached with the London Club on settling our foreign debt. A decision was adopted on settling the so-called bad debts of the state enterprises that date before 1991. Some 43 percent of the land was restored to former owners, and an additional 23 percent was allocated for provisional use. We saw the beginning of market privatization. All the conditions for rapidly carrying out the first stage of mass privatization were prepared, despite the fact that the relevant bill has already been delayed five months by the parliamentary commissions. We have fulfilled the promise to compensate for 95 percent of the income of pensioners and those who work in the state sector affected by inflation. Without this those people would have found themselves in a much more serious situation than existed in December 1992.

I do not say that there were no shortcomings in our work, but it is irresponsible to claim that nothing was accomplished during the past year.

At the beginning of 1994 we face a significant test—the adoption of the 1994 state budget. In this sphere the government completed its work on time. The draft budget was prepared and submitted to the National Assembly at the beginning of December 1993. This draft is the cornerstone of the government's intentions in economic policy.

We fully realize that despite the achievements, the country's economy is still unstable. This requires us to implement balanced measures aimed at restructuring, stabilizing, maintaining, and developing the social welfare system and apply funds prudently. One of the cabinet's basic goals, in addition to the struggle against inflation and the economic crisis, is to resolve the issue of the country's foreign debt to commercial banks. In this way we will relieve our economy of the burden of its total isolation vis-a- vis the international financial markets.

The achievement of the economic policy goals proposed by the cabinet depends to a large extent on the support our country receives from the international financial community. This applies not only to the scope of the aid we will receive, but also to the timing of receiving it.

In the course of the discussion on the budget in the National Assembly and outside it demands were voiced by separate departments and public sectors to receive far more resources than envisaged by the budget. When such demands are voiced those who make them act purely from their own limited interests without taking into consideration the general national balance. Such a course is very easy and perhaps even very profitable from a political point of view. An impossible situation would emerge, however, if we all head in the same direction.

This government was elected on the basis of an anti-inflation program. Despite the views of some that it has not shown sufficient will to govern, the government has in fact followed this anti- inflation policy until now. The government will continue to follow this policy with determination, despite the unpopular measures that are occasionally necessary.

It is very easy to release the anti-inflation brakes and give everyone much higher pensions and wages, free medical services, free medicines, free higher education, and cheap apartments, heating, and electric power, all subsidized by the government. This is possible only if parliament relieves the government of the responsibility of struggling against inflation.

Either we wage this struggle, or by implementing the aforementioned benefits we will slide down the slope of accelerated inflation. There is no middle way. Let those who want a policy that leads to accelerated inflation have the courage to say so clearly and openly.

The draft budget is being discussed by the relevant parliamentary commissions and it will soon be included in the National Assembly agenda for its first reading. It must be pointed out that several important factors for the country depend on the final adoption of the budget at the second reading no later than 16 February. The government has already taken those factors into account in various agreements that it signed.

The first is the receipt of the financial aid from the G-24, which will meet on 4 March in Brussels to discuss financial issues. We expect aid from them to the tune of $300-330 million for financing the country's balance of payments on condition that the implementation of the government's economic policy begins on the basis of adopting the 1994 draft budget. However, the G-24 countries need a minimum of two weeks to prepare their meeting and assume their commitments. Precisely this determines the term that I have mentioned, namely, adopting the budget no later than 16 February.

Signing a new agreement with the IMF is another significant source of financing the country's process of reforms. This could be implemented by mid-March, if the budget is adopted by 16 February. On this basis, even before the end of March the country could receive the first part of the financial aid, which amounts to about $150 million, and an additional $100 million from the World Bank structural restructuring loan. By about the same time—22 March—and under the same preconditions a meeting of the Paris

Club will take place. We expect from this meeting not only officially to reschedule the payments of our foreign debt at better conditions, but also to obtain an additional reduction of 50-60 percent on a bilateral basis. For this we are relying on France's active support.

If this entire chain reaction is not put into effect because we do not adopt or we delay the adoption of the Budget Bill, everything we achieved in the past year will lose its importance. The disruption of this chain of favorable opportunities that we have prepared by not adopting the 1994 Budget Bill on time, will result in a sharp worsening of our balance of payments, the dollar exchange rate, accelerated inflation, and generally, an economic crisis in 1994. I would like to remind you that in addition to this financial aspect there is a social one: Everyone can imagine what effect all this will have on socially deprived circles and how pensions, grants, medical services, education, culture, the police, and the army, on which the country's security depends, will be affected. In such a case, if the adoption of the budget is delayed after 16 February, or if the Budget Bill is not adopted by the National Assembly, the government will not be held responsible for the consequences. The government's task ends here, namely, with ensuring this chain of favorable opportunities. From this point on the responsibility belongs to parliament. Therefore I appeal to politicians to adopt the budget by mid-February. Afterward, everyone may act in accordance with his own understanding. However, now, those politicians in and outside parliament who cause a delay in adopting the budget or prevent its adoption will be betraying the interests of their people and, because of their malice and political shortsightedness, they are prepared to ruin the country if they cannot rule it. It is not in this way that one could assume power in the country.

The last opportunity to adopt the budget on time will be if it is put on the National Assembly agenda on Thursday [27 January] or Friday [28 February]. The two Mondays and Tuesdays before 16 February must become regular working days for the National Assembly.

I appeal to the National Assembly members not only to adopt the Budget Bill rapidly, but also to show a responsible and competent approach during the debate.

The alternative to adopting the budget is obvious—immediate new parliamentary elections. Simultaneously, the sociological polls and the experts imply that this is an illusionary alternative, unwanted by the political forces and the voters. The elections will immediately mean that the country will be in the midst of a desperate political crisis that will lead to economic chaos and delayed reforms.

There are only those two alternatives. No compromise is possible. You must select one of the two alternatives in the next few days. It was my duty today to warn you all about this, so that tomorrow there will be no misunderstanding as to who defended the national needs and who must bear the responsibility for causing the premeditated economic-political disaster in our country. Let us rally this time around the necessity to adopt the budget on time, and thus demonstrate that we are a nation that merits respect, and one that can understand and defend its common interests. Otherwise we will be at the end of the line. In such a case the difficulties that we have experienced in the last three years will be in vain, and the next government will have to begin everything anew.

Thank you very much.

Party Leaders, Spokesmen Comment

AU2501203394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 25 Jan 94

["Recorded comments" by parliamentary deputies and party leaders on Prime Minister Berov's statement on national radio on 25 January—recorded]

[Text] How do the Bulgarian Socialists assess Prime Minister Lyuben Berov's statement on national radio today. Here is a comment by Nora Ananieva, chairman of the parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and its coalition:

[Ananieva] The prime minister's viewpoint was realistic, in the sense that stability, our authority, continuing the reform without interruption, and developing our international contacts all depend on the budget being passed.

[Announcer] Professor Lyuben Berov's address provoked a quick reaction from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] coalition. Here is what Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, had to say:

[Dimitrov] We have long considered that the only reasonable alternative to the chaos that reigns in the country's economy and the drama that is developing on the streets of Bulgarian towns is to hold new elections. Accordingly, in making his statement, the prime minister hardly discovered America. As regards the issue of the budget, in his statement the prime minister made a fetish, as it were, of the act of adopting a law, but disregarded its contents.

[Announcer] The parliamentary group of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] will support the initiative calling for a special plenary session of parliament on the state budget bill, but the DPS deputies do not consider that 16 February is a realistic deadline for adopting the budget. Here is a comment from DPS parliamentary representative Osman Oktay on the prime minister's statement:

[Oktay] I would describe the prime minister's statement on the budget as somewhat overhasty. We have assured him—we have given an assurance in the proper place—that we will do everything possible to speed up the submission of the budget to a plenary session of the National Assembly.

[Announcer] DPS deputies expressed their disquiet over the delays in the examination of the budget by certain parliamentary commissions. According to them, the

early submission of the budget bill to the full parliament is of importance primarily in connection with our commitments under the agreement with the international financial institutions. According to Deputy Oktay, the president will probably meet with the DPS leader [Ahmed Dogan] next week. According to DPS Deputy Serife Mustafa, this meeting may take place tomorrow.

Official Justifies Need To Join NATO

AU2401115994 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 19 Jan 94 p 11

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Todor Churov by Miroslava Badzheva; place and date not given: "To Be Outside NATO Means To Be Far From Europe"]

[Text] [Badzheva] Mr. Churov, do you share the view that the Partnership for Peace initiative is a Washington's compromise with Moscow's nuclear power?

[Churov] In essence, Partnership for Peace is a compromise between at least three quantities. The first is NATO as an organization, which is well aware that it has to change its character and, probably, its range of action. Second, there are the countries of Eastern Europe, practically all of which have declared that they want full membership. The third factor is Russia. As a result of the balance between these three quantities, whose interests both coincide and diverge in certain fields, we have Partnership for Peace.

For some time now, NATO has been facing the problem of how to take account of the new circumstances, which tend to induce changes in an organization that from the outset was formed and adapted to the bipolar security model. Now there is a new understanding of security, a realization of the need for a new architecture for the security structures and, in the final analysis, for new, more varied forms of behavior.

For its part, Russia displays a degree of sensitivity regarding NATO's position and, more precisely, its geographical scope. Russia is a state of the first magnitude, regardless of the problems that it is suffering at the moment. It continues to be a leading state and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, and it has a first-grade nuclear potential at its disposal. As a state, it carries great weight in international relations, and NATO cannot fail to take it into consideration. A further important factor is the internal political balance inside Russia between forces that are rather skeptical about cooperation with the West and other forces that believe this is the only reasonable alternative.

Third, we have the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Following the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, they have found themselves in a certain "security vacuum" and naturally have the lawful right to seek guarantees for their security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty, which includes following a consistent policy aimed at joining the West European or Euro-Atlantic structures. Accordingly, in the final analysis, Partnership for Peace is a vector resulting from these three lines of force representing different interests and foreign policy behavior.

[Badzheva] Is Moscow applying any pressure on our statesmen to keep us from joining NATO?

[Churov] I have no information to confirm such a thesis. I think rather that Russia's attempts to exert influence are directed toward the West. A certain postulate has been strongly expressed in statements recently made by NATO politicians, and it contains a grain of logic. It suggests that the immediate inclusion of a group of states from Central and Eastern Europe, or only from Central Europe, in NATO would in practice mean shifting a line of division further to the east, no matter where it should end up—at Russia's borders or somewhere to the west of our own border.

I think that at the present stage, we cannot fail to appreciate Russia's problem—no such line of division should exist. Anyway, this was the message sent to the NATO summit meeting in Brussels.

[Badzheva] In the Western press, Partnership for Peace has revived the hypothesis of a "new Yalta," according to which the Central and East European countries would again be left within Moscow's sphere of influence. What do you think about this?

[Churov] To be able to claim that such an accord exists, one needs to have absolutely authentic information. One cannot simply put forward hypotheses.

On the other hand, attempts are still being made to delineate spheres of civilized compatibility. Ideas were suggested of making culturological divisions between the countries of Europe, based on religious traditions, alphabets, and ethnic features, and according to this, we lie in the eastern orbit. However, this thesis does not hold water, because it refers to a Byzantine Europe, but the state that historically personifies Byzantium turns out to be one of the Western group of countries. I am referring to Greece, which is already quite well integrated in both NATO and the European Union.

[Badzheva] Nevertheless, views still prevail that Partnership for Peace restricts the countries of the former socialist block from holding full membership in NATO.

[Churov] First and foremost, Partnership for Peace represents a commitment on the part of NATO to open up the organization to the East. It is something like the EU's Copenhagen declaration, in which it declared that in principle it was an organization with an open character. The states that have been active in the Partnership for Peace Initiative will be able to hold consultations similar in scope and content to those specified in Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty. This means that in the event of a direct threat appearing to their national security and sovereignty, the member countries will be able to seek consultations with NATO on these issues.

The second level of Partnership for Peace is that it gives the opportunity to the states of Central and Eastern Europe, if they so desire, to participate in important

NATO military and political bodies. This gives them real access to the process of formulating decisions, despite the fact that this cannot, of course, be compared to full-blown participation in the decisionmaking process. In addition, the initiative provides for cooperation in specific military-technical fields, such as military planning, access to certain types of confidential information, cooperation in the fields of troop training, command, and administration, and, naturally, participation in wide-scale costly operations, such as joint military exercises, joint peacekeeping operations, and so on.

[Badzheva] Has NATO invited us to take part in joint military maneuvers this year?

[Churov] In principle, NATO is planning to hold joint maneuvers in 1994 but, so far, it is not clear which states in Central and Eastern Europe will take part in them. It has been left to them to decide whether they are ready to join in and allocate the relevant resources. However, we have already been invited to notify them which of our combat units might be placed at NATO's disposal for joint operations of this type.

[Badzheva] Are we ready to answer in the affirmative?

[Churov] No, and not only us. It is still too early.

[Badzheva] Are you afraid that the states of the former socialist camp are moving toward NATO at two speeds and that we are in the second group?

[Churov] I would say that from now on, the states of Central and Eastern Europe, and not only them, will move at more than two speeds. Despite our formal equal standing, in a certain sense, this is embodied in the Partnership for Peace initiative itself. For many countries, the initiative essentially represents a solution to their situation and, for this reason, they find this program exceptionally acceptable. Some states will turn out to be better organized, better equipped from the material viewpoint, and with a stronger psychological motivation and a higher level of public awareness. In other words, these states might prove to be more suitable for faster integration into NATO.

[Badzheva] Nevertheless, we can demonstrate our activity only within the limits of our financial capabilities, because no one knows how we will be able to pay for our cooperation with NATO. Does this mean that the richer states will overtake us?

[Churov] This is possible. However, if we give high priority to our links with NATO on national security grounds, we could allocate more funds. If again we reach the assessment that the balance between the economic factor, including our financial problems, and the aspiration to integrate with NATO is in favor of giving priority to economic problems, the outcome would be different.

In this case, however, the statement made by Ms. Albright during her visit offers us some reassurance. She said that the quantitative aspect is not so important as the qualitative one, and as far as the latter is concerned, I do not think we are inferior to any other state.

[Badzheva] What does the qualitative aspect include?

[Churov] From the political viewpoint, it includes conducting sensible foreign policy, acting as a stabilizing factor, not having any territorial claims against our neighbors, having a democratic social system, abiding by international obligations, and so on. As regards all these requirements, Bulgaria is in no way inferior to the other states of Central and Eastern Europe. Our state also has to prove that it is a reliable partner in the Partnership for Peace initiative.

[Badzheva] Do you consider that a condition for us joining NATO is that our weapons should conform to Western standards?

[Churov] If we talk about Western standards, it is a somewhat paradoxical fact that the East European armies are standardized to a far higher degree—that is, they are far much more compatible than the NATO armies. In this respect, I am inclined to think that the idea that we are unsuitable for NATO because our standards are totally different is somewhat of a myth.

[Badzheva] Is it possible to say that, in a certain sense, military diplomacy has outstripped classical diplomacy on our path toward NATO?

[Churov] I would not make this distinction, because it is very difficult to separate the one from the other. It is true that a number of specific programs for cooperation with NATO exist in the military-technical field. On the other hand, the political process is also quite well developed.

[Badzheva] In your opinion, who in Bulgaria is afraid of NATO?

[Churov] I do not know if we can talk about fears. However, a certain trend does exist, and among serious politicians at that, who think that it is not the best thing for Bulgaria to commit itself to one or another organization or state, and that Bulgaria should be neutral.

In the present conditions, the very concept of "neutrality" is losing its meaning in a world that is no longer bipolar, thus presupposing the existence of third neutral countries. In organizations like NATO, in which mutual cooperation is developed to a high degree, a democratic process exists for reaching decisions, and the interests of all are considered, the member states are divided into two groups: the insiders and the outsiders. The ones inside have advantages, while those outside are in practice prevented from being able to influence the collective decision- making process.

If we decide not to integrate ourselves with NATO at such a speed and show a tendency to consider whether we have any other alternatives, this will inevitably place us in the second category, even when we are equal in all other respects to the other Central and East European countries. In this case, there is a very big risk that this would have a knock-on effect regarding the process of our integration into the European Union and other similar structures.

Finance Minister on Students' 'Political' Strike

AU2401214194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] We briefly reported on today's meeting between Minister of Finance Stoyan Aleksandrov and Professor Ivan Lalov in some of our news programs. Commenting on the talks, Minister Aleksandrov reportedly said that the demands of the students on strike have been fulfilled. Let us hear some of his latest remarks on the subject as submitted to BTA:

The strike of the Sofia University students is political, the finance minister declared in briefing the media at the Council of Ministers headquarters today. He is convinced that the students have either been deceived, or are acting at someone's instructions. I am even in doubt whether a strike exists at all, considering that 500 people cannot possible represent the interests of 140,000 students all over the country, Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov is reported as saying.

After his meeting with Prof. Ivan Lalov, during which he was informed of the demands of the strikers, the finance minister resolutely declared that he would neither negotiate with the strikers nor sign any agreements with them. According to the minister, the scholarships were paid from the university's extrabudgetary funds on the basis of the rectors' decision. The university's leadership preferred to spend the means of the state subsidies for its own wages, which were increased by 40 percent.

Stoyan Aleksandrov described as preposterous the claim that 2 percent of the gross national domestic product should be spent on education as of 1995. According to him, the (?state subsidies) will not be abolished, but it should be considered whether to preserve the current system of distribution in higher educational institutions, or whether a new scheme should be adopted at the suggestion of the rectors, in accordance with the specialists required in different spheres. The legal documents related to scholarships, students' hostels, and credits for students shall be adopted in one package, as the strikers demand, but this will presumably take place only at the beginning of the next or in the middle of the current school year, the minister is reported as saying.

Strike Gains Momentum

AU2501203494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Report by Asen Asenov and Diana Tsankova]

[Text] The number of students on strike at Sofia's St. Kliment Okhridski University is steadily increasing. Following yesterday's meeting of the Academic Council, about 7,000 intellectuals, professors, and citizens signed a petition in support of the student strike. Today, students from the University of National and World Economics joined in supporting the demands of their Sofia University colleagues and will probably issue their own declaration.

The strike committee will set up a group of experts to prepare a standpoint regarding the strike declaration, including item 1, which demands that 2 percent of the GDP should be allocated to science and education. The protest has already produced an international reaction: a NEW YORK TIMES journalist has interviewed the striking students.

Minister of Science and Education Marko Todorov issued an official statement on the student strike, in which he said that it is political in nature and that the demand for 2 percent of the GDP to be allocated to education and science cannot be satisfied.

The sit-in at the university continues. At a general meeting tomorrow, professors and staff of the university are expected to declare their own strike, because more than 50 percent of the signatures required have already been collected.

Today Prime Minister Lyuben Berov received representatives of six student organizations, who expressed disquiet regarding the occupation of Sofia University and the politicization of the strike. They called upon the executive power to help to ensure that the rights of students who want to take their examinations and not interrupt the study session are not restricted. The prime minister undertook to speak to Sofia University Rector Professor Lalov, asking him to bring under control the tension that is developing between the striking students and those not on strike.

Kenan Criticizes DPS 'Cooperation'

AU2101194094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Jan 94 p 1

[Text] Ankara, 18 January—In cooperation with the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], Bulgarians want to eliminate the Turkish presence in Bulgaria, Adem Kenan, chairman of the Turkish Democratic Party [TDP], and his first deputy Emin Hamdi claim in an extensive interview given to the Turkish ORTADOGU daily, BTA reports. In addition to the interview, the daily also published an "Open Letter to the State Leadership of the Republic of Bulgaria from the Leadership of the TDP in Bulgaria."

Kenan and Hamdi level criticisms against certain DPS leaders, accusing them of cooperation with the KGB and the Bulgarian special services. At the same time, the leaders of the unregistered TDP show concern for the fate of the Khazar Turks and Muslims living in Georgia. According to them, there is a high likelihood and risk of the Georgians applying "the Bulgarian model of assimilation."

Officials Comment on New Military Budget

General Staff Chief Cited

AU2401115794 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by Nedko Petrov: "The Chief of the General Staff Would Not Resign"]

[Text] On 18 January Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff, invited correspondents who cover Army issues to the Central Army Club in Sofia. Despite the fact that it was previously announced that the meeting would not be a news conference, the General Staff chief answered several questions regarding problems in the Bulgarian Army. General Petrov considers the new military budget extremely insufficient for the Army, especially since war is raging along our western border. However, the Army chief said that contrary to reports that appeared immediately after the draft military budget was published, even if the budget is adopted, he would not resign. "I will not desert the Army, but I also will not be held responsible for the Bulgarian Army's combat readiness, " General Petrov said.

The General Staff chief admitted participating in working out the presidential decree on the functions and prerogatives of the president's Military Office but refused to comment on the issue until the National Security Commission takes a stand.

Assembly Official Interviewed

AU2401130094 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Tosho Mukhtanov, chairman of National Assembly Defense Industry Commission, by Major Spiridon Spiridonov; place and date not given: "The Arms Industry Cannot Expect Serious Orders"]

[Text] [Spiridonov] Your commission has already begun to discuss the state budget draft bill. What are your first impressions?

[Mukhtanov] Our first discussion was primarily related to the budget of the Ministry of Defense. It is clear that the means allocated by this draft for material supply are insufficient, not to mention any import of or orders for equipment, weapons, and spare parts for our defense industry. Our military-industrial complex could produce to the tune of roughly 10 billion leva. If all you have at your disposal is 800-900 million leva for aircraft, vessels, artillery, missiles, and radar equipment—what will you do first? Import something or commission the local defense industry to produce something? It is obvious that the army cannot commission any orders for the military-industrial complex.

[Spiridonov] Was your attention directed only at the defense budget?

[Mukhtanov] We also discussed the budget of the "State Reserve and Military Stocks" Main Administration. This administration has not received what it needed in the last few years, either. On the other hand, material supplies whose expiry date has been reached have been taken out of the stocks. This is a very important state system, which, like all other systems, is continuously being destroyed. It would not be able to function in the case of a natural disaster. There is an even greater danger that it would not be able to function in the face of a military threat. In this context the budget suffices only for the current maintenance of the warehouses, and the expenditure on wages, heating, and telephones. The system needs 233 million leva just for its maintenance. The draft budget allocates 210 million, while the system needs more than 2 billion leva to restore the most necessary elements.

[Spiridonov] The draft budget is not the first sign of the military-industrial complex's problems.

[Mukhtanov] The idea that was vested in parliament's decision of last summer to maintain a state policy on the issue of mobilization readiness and the military-industrial complex still has no clearly marked dimensions. Soon we will be demanding a meeting with the Interdepartmental Council, because so far nothing has changed. There are still not enough people who could work and analyze the information. The old decisions from last summer have not been implemented, no new decisions have been made, and the parameters of the military-industrial complex have not been outlined. Obviously, a lot of work lies ahead.

[Spiridonov] The financial means that were allocated are insufficient, but, nevertheless, are there no reserves?

[Mukhtanov] I implied a certain unused reserve, but let us not fully specify it. Most private business is making good profits, but so far most of the tax burden has been carried by the state structures. Private business remains on the sidelines. This business should be charged with commitments to our defense and security, because the army also protects the interests of those people. We will try to discuss this issue. However, we lack practical experience in this sphere. We have passed the Tax Administration Bill. Obviously, now the Accounts Chamber Bill must be adopted and then mechanisms must be created for private business to pay specific customs charges, taxes, and other fees.

[Spiridonov] Nevertheless, is 800-900 million leva too little?

[Mukhtanov] There is nowhere a specific budget for the defense industry. We are discussing the Defense Ministry budget, which is supposed to cover orders for the military-industrial complex. When the budget is 800-900 million leva, while the needs amount to 17 billion leva, it is unthinkable to speak about any orders. Furthermore, the complex has military-technical property, which the army needs, but does not have any money to purchase it. If the army had the necessary budget, both it and the military-industrial complex could benefit.

Havel, Polish Defense Chief View 'Partnership'

LD2501145894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] The "Partnership for Peace" was the main topic in the discussion between President Vaclav Havel and Polish Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejdzyk at Prague Castle today. Both agreed that their countries' attitude toward the U.S. plan for partnership cooperation with NATO was similar. In this context, our president voiced his support for the continuation of mutual consultations and cooperation in modernizing the armies of the two neighboring states.

Minister Kolodziejdzyk said that NATO standards should be introduced into these armies as soon as possible and that a joint approach to a safe Europe should be adopted.

Article on Differences Between Klaus, Havel

AU2501140894 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Jan 94 p 6

[Commentary by Jiri Weigl, head of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's team of advisers: "Havel Versus Klaus, or Mixing Up Concepts"]

[Text] On 18 January, MLADA FRONTA DNES published an article by Tomas Vencalek entitled "Havel Versus Klaus, or a Dispute About the Meaning of the State." In it, the author engaged in a remarkable discourse on the fundamental differences of opinion between our most senior representatives on the relationship between the citizen and the state.

This article maintains that the president, as an advocate of a "consistent civic society," is calling for the establishment of higher territorial units and non-profit-making organizations, while Vaclav Klaus is an unequivocal advocate of a strong state or strong-arm government and manifests his distaste for curbing the power of this state in favor of the aforementioned institutions.

Mr. Vencalek sees a disharmony here between the president's "liberal view of the world" and the prime minister's unidimensionally social democratic way of thinking, which is, however, an apparently intrinsically neoconservative phenomenon inasmuch as Reagan and Thatcher considered public-legal institutions to be parasites on democracy and limited their authority in favor of the state.

On the basis of these hypotheses, Mr. Vencalek "exposes" neoconservatism as the ideological fellow-traveler of social democracy (except for marginal differences in the taxation or privatization spheres!!) and contrasts it with "liberalism," which does not trust the state.

The aforementioned views reflect the author's confusion about the fundamental ideological approaches to the arrangement of society. Only in this way can he place conservative thinking alongside social democracy. The essence of the conservative way of thinking consists of its emphasis on a clear definition of ownership rights with regard to property and on freedom of choice for all social entities. In this context, the state is also seen as the guarantor of stable and equal rules for everyone. The role of the state as the "visible hand" of a formless general rule should be minimal, but the role of the state as the guarantor and maker of rules is crucial and, from this point of view, the requirement for a strong state with clearly defined authority, and jurisdiction for the individual government levels is absolutely consistent with the requirement for a minimal role for the state in the microeconomic sphere. The social democratic view of the state runs counter to this.

The critical views that, in the discussion on the establishment of higher territorial units, warn of the consequences of ill-considered decisions in favor of the government's ability to guarantee stability and uniformity of conditions for implementing ownership rights and the freedom of choice for all entities should also be understood in this context.

It is essential to adopt a similar view of non-profit-making organizations. To the conservative admirer of the clear and natural order of things, a non-profit-making or public-legal organization is an ambiguous entity that makes it difficult to clearly divide property into private and public property—that is, guaranteed by the generally recognized and supervisory representative of the public, the state. If non-profit-making organizations are perceived as private entities, which, however, enjoy certain, mainly tax, advantages over other profit-making private organizations, the only argument a critic can cite here is the violation of the universal nature of the rules of competition and the possibility that these advantages may be abused.

It is worse if non-profit-making organizations are viewed as a kind of third form of ownership, a form that contradicts both private and state ownership. This aspect is gaining in importance, first and foremost, in our situation, where decisions are being made on the fate of the huge amount of property amassed by the former regime. The illusion is being fostered among the public that this is a more noble form of ownership that does not pursue a profit motive and is not abused a priori by a dubious state authority. The impression is being created that the state property originally transferred into this form will somehow serve "all of us" due to the noble intentions of its "public-legal" administrators, that it will be given preferential treatment against other entities, and that we, citizens, will decide on its use by means of some unspecified arrangement for self-organization. In practice, this means abandoning the requirement for a clear definition of ownership rights and of the responsibility of the owner associated with them.

This approach to non-profit making organizations, which is very vigorous in the ongoing debates on the

appropriate legislation, expresses a priori the mistrust of Mr. Vencalek's "liberals" of private ownership and profit-making motives, which is the driving force behind each market economy. It expresses the attempt to establish, by a "public-legal" form, capitalism with a human face, which preserves at least something of the unfavorable aspects of the irresponsible past.

It is necessary to understand "liberalism" perceived like this more in the U.S. sense, as an ideological trend very close to European social democracy. They are both equally distant from consistent and conservative thinking.

However, I must give Mr. Vencalek his due in one thing. The issue discussed by him, albeit poorly interpreted, is a sign that our conditions are obviously reaching maturity. It is comforting that the differences between the conservative and "liberal" or social democratic concepts of society are obvious in our policy.

Prime Minister on Compensation to WWII Victims

LD2501211394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1717 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by David Stahlavsky; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [David Stahlavsky] Prime Minister, our government, in the process of correcting the wrongs of the past, has gone quite far. One problem still remains to be solved: compensation to the victims of fascism. You indicated at Jachymov that the solution is at hand. How far is the temporal horizon of this solution?

[Klaus] Naturally, this matter has two components. One component is the political sphere: What kind of a signal it is, what sort of a decision it is, from both the internal political point of view and the foreign political one. The second thing is the technical aspect of this compensation. I think that, basically, we have gone quite a long way in the technical aspect. One indeed has to understand it not as compensation. We always translate these words into mitigation of wrongs because compensation somehow implies the feeling that something is in the ratio of one to one. As to all the restitution and rehabilitation claims, they are never in the ratio of one to one. We all know this very well. One cannot compensate for one minute's stay in a concentration camp by anything. I know this very well. That is why we say mitigation of wrongs. That is why I also think that it should be [word indistinct], where the wrongs were greatest, and it should not apply to the group of those in enforced labor who, no doubt, we all consider a smaller group, where smaller wrongs were committed. So what we could manage from our means on a temporary basis is to do with the greatest wrongs.

From the internal and foreign political viewpoints, it has its important aspect and we are very well aware of it, and I repeat and say clearly and distinctly that, from our point of view, it does not mean at all diminishing or giving up claims toward the German side in these matters. It is simply our own personal responsibility toward our fellow citizens who are fairly old now, and I do not think one can put it off much longer. [passage omitted]

Comment on Army's Readiness for NATO Integration

AU2501154694 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 24 Jan 94 p 3

[Commentary by Daniel Kunstat: "The Czech Republic Army and NATO"]

[Text] The rapprochement process and the future incorporation of the postcommunist countries of Central and East Europe into the North Atlantic Alliance has had two fundamental aspects since the very beginning. The absolute prerogative was and undoubtedly is the willingness (or unwillingness) of the Alliance itself to make a strategic decision and intrinsically alter the geopolitical constellation in the zone between Germany and Russia. The recently approved Partnership for Peace plan, however, diverts attention, to a certain extent, to the "other end of the court" inasmuch as the possible admission of the individual aspirants for NATO membership is conditional upon the quality and speed of their domestic reforms and upon stable development in the economic, political, and military spheres.

The first practical steps within the framework of the Partnership plan should be joint military exercises between the armed forces of the Visegrad Four countries and NATO, while the interested parties will have their own permanent representatives in the Alliance's Brussels headquarters. The coming months will indeed be a testing time for the "converging" Visegrad Four states-,because the phase of noncommittal political declarations on their readiness "to share in the joint aims and values" will be replaced by practical experience, which will establish the potential for effective military cooperation. In this connection, it is impossible not to ask if our Army is ready for close cooperation with the NATO Command.

It is no use disguising the fact that the current Czech Army is, for all sorts of reasons, the element of political authority least affected by the post-November changes and that even the various "screenings" have not done much to alter this sad fact. It comes as no surprise that it is a, so to speak, superhuman task for Defense Minister Baudys to find at least 30 young officers with the appropriate education and linguistic ability capable of acting as our representatives in the Alliance's Command and individual committees. The fact that, since 1989, some 170 Czech soldiers have undergone training in the West (at the state's expense, of course) and that many of them are now in better-paid positions in the private sector completes this paradoxical situation. The greatest shortcoming in the qualifications of the Czech Army's

Command Corps is not so much their "technical" expertise but their absolute lack of world languages. This is despite the fact that two-thirds of the some 25,000 officers are university graduates. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell today how many soldiers studied in the former Soviet Union because the Defense Ministry's Personnel Department does not keep such records. It is certain that, for example, the current chief of the General Staff was a very diligent student; this is even borne out by his endeavor at two colleges in the very womb of the camp of peace and socialism. Jiri Nekvasil is obviously the right man for the job and is indeed a suitable partner for his "western" colleagues (a mixture of former West Point students).

The Czech Army is currently going through a very demanding and painful structural reorganization process, and the number of men at arms should be reduced from 100,000 to 65,000 within two years. The fundamental transformation of the General Staff, the creation of new logistics (that is, principles for financing the troops), and the creation of completely new commands (for example, the Tactical Air Force) are all planned in this first phase. The concept also envisages the early formation of a fully professional Rapid Deployment Brigade of 3,500 men, whose equipment will be "compatible" with that of similar units in the NATO forces. According to Baudys, this brigade, along with the Czech UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] unit, should form the basis for our participation in the Partnership for Peace plan and, at the same time, act as a kind of precursor of the future fully professional Army.

It is certainly not news to our political officials that the equipment, structure of the forces, and, in view of its personnel makeup, the Command Corps are not "compatible" with the armed forces of NATO states. Compared with the other parties interested in a spot beneath the security umbrella, however, this handicap is, in essence, insignificant. After all, the Czech Republic's integration into the Euro-Atlantic security structures depends, first and foremost, on the political decision of the Alliance itself.

Kovac, Poland's Walesa Interviewed

LD2501183894 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 2055 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Interview granted by Slovak President Michal Kovac and Polish President Lech Walesa to an unidentified correspondent on the eve of Kovac's visit to Poland; place and date not given; Walesa speaks in Polish fading into Slovak translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Are you happy about the distribution of power in your country?

[Kovac] We can say that it was lucky that six political parties and movements got into parliament after the last elections. If we consider that we are a country that has just started with pluralist democracy, six is an optimum for joining political forces and for achieving cooperation relatively easily. These, however, are mostly new political formations that still have not established clearly their political profile, and this resulted in problems for the Slovak Republic. The stability of the government and internal political stability were not sufficiently secure. It became obvious that there was a need to form a coalition government. As you know, a coalition government has been formed, but it is again becoming clear that it will not have sufficent support in parliament. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what is the purpose of the existence of the Visegrad Group after the summit meetings in Brussels and Prague?

[Kovac] [passage omitted] The Visegrad Group needs a framework that will provide a mechanism and rules for creating a system that will enable us to regulate our cooperation in various areas.

[Walesa] [passage omitted] If one partner within the foursome does not want to cooperate, it is not a problem because the three remaining countries are able to cooperate, and later they can take on somebody else. Anyhow, if the Czechs find it useful, they will cooperate. Let us therefore not complain, and let us try to come to an understanding with whom we can, and, eventually, as I have said, the situation will resolve itself.

[Correspondent] What does the U.S. Partnership for Peace program offer us if it does not give guarantees of full security to our countries?

[Walesa] We have to remember the simple facts. NATO was established to act as a counterweight to the Warsaw Pact. Because the Warsaw Pact does not now exist, NATO has to acquire a relevant new meaning. Of course, I am not in favor of dissolving NATO. Something stabilizing, something like NATO, is inevitable. On the other hand though, the role of NATO has to be somewhat different. In this respect, neither you nor we have any direct enemies. Therefore, we do not have to engage in direct preparations for wars of this kind. In our opinion, we have to move the zone of insecurity. Those postcommunist countries that are already prepared, reformed, and stable must join the zone that is more secure and more peaceful. The incorporation of the whole territory, as was the case under the communist regime, is not a good thing because it only expands the zone of insecurity. It was not the danger, not any threat, but the logic of the development of a united Europe that prompted us to take this step more quickly as it would be beneficial to all, in the first place, to the West.

As for the Partnership for Peace, the direction is right. It is up to us what we make of it. We can assess it today as a small step, but if we work well, if we find the point of departure, this step will get bigger. I believe that we will take this direction. The direction is all right, but we have to give content that is satisfactory to us.

[Kovac] I know that the Partnership for Peace does not meet our expectations to the full because we wanted to become regular NATO members so as to enjoy sufficient guarantees for our countries—that is, security guarantees. The Partnership for Peace brings us closer and makes the fulfillment of our expectations more realistic. It gives us an opportunity to cooperate with NATO in both the political and the military fields. At the same time, it makes it possible for us to prove ourselves as reliable partners. In my opinion, it is good preparation and a good chance to prove that we are reliable partners. I have no doubts that, in this area, we, the four countries, can cooperate. We can continue to harmonize our course of action, our steps. If we neglected something before the NATO summit, we have to try to catch up with it in this phase.

[Correspondent] What is your view of the role of the United States and Russia, the two superpowers in the world and their influence on world developments?

[Kovac] The United States is not only a military and a political superpower but also an economic one. It is generally known that it is the greatest guarantor of the democratic and peaceful development in other countries. The United States has proved this, and it has made a great contribution toward the elimination of the communist totalitarian system. I am convinced that not only Slovakia but also the other postcommunist countries trust the United States deeply, and therefore they find the U.S. military presence in Europe very important.

Russia is a military and political superpower. We are looking forward to Russia coming together with the United States and also with Europe. We are glad that, within the framework of the Partnership for Peace, Russia will be able to take part in cooperation with NATO. Russia is very important for us with regard to economic cooperation. As far as Slovakia is concerned—and I think that this concerns all countries of the Visegrad Four—we have a great interest in the reinforcement of the democratic forces in Russia and in the continuation of the process of economic reform in Russia. To put it simply, in the creation of a plurality system and a lawful state in Russia and in speeding up its change to a market economy. The sooner political and

economic stability prevails in Russia the greater are the hopes for stability and peace throughout the world.

[Walesa] Both are nuclear superpowers. This makes them very dangerous and powerful, although in other areas they differ greatly. We must also remember that we live in the time of change, in the time of seeking security and solutions. Therefore, not everything that we like can we have immediately. We must, however, make a contribution toward ensuring that these two superpowers are not in confrontation and do not act as blackmailers, and that everybody wants to cooperate with them—but on the basis of the principles of partnership. In a partnership, partners can be of different size and of different sex, but, on the basis of certain principles, they can be equal.

What role can Slovakia and Russia play in their relation to, for example, Russia? If we stay together, our role can be greater. We have to discuss what this role is to be. This is of a great interest to us. If we are divided, we will represent a smaller economic force, but, if the opposite is true, we will be treated in a different way. It depends on us, on our solidarity, how much we achieve with regard to our common objectives.

[Correspondent] Are there any rights you would like to have and that you still do not have? What makes it impossible for you to have absolute power?

[Kovac] [Passage omitted] There is only one thing that bothers us: the issue of dissolving parliament and calling new elections in the case of a crisis. In Slovakia, the president does not have this right, although, in a number of countries, a president has this right. In Slovakia, it depends on the will of the deputies, and a three-fifths majority in parliament is needed for this decision. It does not seem to be the ideal solution. This is, perhaps, the only area in which I think the Slovak president should have an extra right: the right to dissolve parliament in some circumstances and call new elections.

[Walesa] As a chess player, I want to look several moves ahead. If I had absolute power now, it would not be good for me because, after I retired, the next president would have absolute power and could destroy me. I do not think of today but of the future; therefore, I want to create a system that would guarantee all rights. My desire is not to have too much because I know that in the future somebody will inherit my position and might commit serious mistakes.

Meciar's 'Confrontation' With Kovac Examined

AU2301192394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Jan 94 p 4

[Commentary by Lubomir Lintner: "Now It Is the President's Turn"]

[Text] On 15 February of last year, parliament elected Michal Kovac president of the Slovak Republic. Almost exactly 11 months later, he was forced to hear the Slovak prime minister say that he is breaking up the government and the victorious movement. Since Friday [14 January], Vladimir Meciar's dissatisfaction with the president's views is public and the prime minister seems to have staked everything on one card—the card of confrontation. The prime minister knows very well that, not only in opposition circles but even in his own party, talks are being held about Slovakia being able to continue in its development even without him. The more successful Vladimir Meciar is in setting the players on the Slovak political scene against one another, the more successful he is in introducing corruption as a method into political relations and the more chaotic society will become, the sooner he will be able to utter words about the need for a strong arm. Given the present shape of parliament, only the president can represent an obstacle to such contemplations. The prime minister's haughtiness is also demonstrated by the fact that he has decided to opt for confrontation, in defiance of the fact that the president enjoys a greater trust of the citizens, according to public opinion polls. Real power and the actual possibility to use it 24 hours a day for the benefit of his aims rests, however, in the hands of the prime minister. Developments in the Slovak National Party [SNS] are clear proof of this. Several SNS officials no longer conceal the fact, even before correspondents, that they had been offered material goods. It is apparent, however, that the "guardians" of contemporary Slovak democracy will use this as another opportunity to point their fingers at correspondents as being those who harm the prime minister and Slovakia. One of the practical results of Meciar's policy is that, from the well-known group of seven smiling from the campaign posters, Milan Knazko and Rudolf Filkus have turned away from the prime minister and Augustin Marian Huska resigned from the leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Club of Deputies, while Michal Kovac, as president, disagrees with the prime minister on many developments and Roman Zelenay tragically died. R. Cuper, who has before him the vision of the post of prosecutor general, is thus the only one who is still on the prime minister's side. Slovakia has gradually found itself at a crossroads not only in the perception of the relationship between parliament and the prime minister in relation to the Hungarian ethnic minority but, most recently, also in relation to the president-prime minister relationship. Most sensible insiders know where the fault lies. Delaying a radical solution in the spirit of the president's words about the need for a broad coalition by giving preference to momentary personal material profit leads Slovakia into an even deeper quagmire. The prime minister's words on the radio on Friday [14 January] bear out that Vladimir Meciar has decided (relying on the fact that, in his own club of deputies, personal profit prevails over uprightness of character) to challenge the president to a test of strength. The words of association with [communist-era Czechoslovak President] Husak in connection with the application of Article 103 [concerning defamation of the head of state] against Ivan Lexa, the disintegration of the SNS (Igor Uhrik: Search for truth and constructive solutions has been replaced by corruption

as the decisive factor in the SNS), the elusiveness of the Party of the Democratic Left (which, in spite of critical verbal proclamations, always assumes some "unexpected" attitude favorable toward the HZDS, be it for reasons of its deputies' conscience or out of human error), and the state of health—all that speaks in Vladimir Meciar's favor. Yet it definitely is not to the benefit of all of us.

Meciar Allegedly Offered Arms to FRY

Panic Rejected Offer

LD2501164894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] A letter addressed to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar from the former Yugoslav Premier Milan Panic resulted in the suspension of the Slovak Government meeting today. In the letter, Panic rejected Meciar's offer of arms and ammunition. The authenticity of the letter is not certain. In the letter, its author, allegedly the Yugoslav former premier, thanks Meciar for the offer from the catalogue of Slovak arms and ammunition, but says that the FRY has received a much more favorable offer from Russia. Panic says that with regard to his political defeat he cannot accept a provision for mediating the transaction, and, at the same time, he tells Meciar that asking for a share in the provision is not normal in trade.

According to an unnamed source, after the discussion in the Cabinet, diplomats accredited to Bratislava were acquainted with the letter. They were told that Prime Minister Meciar found it in his mail on Monday.

Foreign and Interior Ministers Jozef Moravcik and Jozef Tuchyna said the letter is probably a fake and an attempt to discredit the Slovak Government.

The cancellation mark on the envelope found in Meciar's mail says Credit Bank Plzen Energofund, and the envelope also carries a Czech Republic stamp. The letter is addressed to Slovak President Michal Kovac. A photocopy of the letter and of the envelope shows the stamp of the Slovak president's secretariat.

The editors in chief of the most prominent Slovak media were invited to the government office to be told about this grave fact.

Panic Spokesman: Letter 'Forgery'

LD2501183094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] We have just received further information from TASR [Slovak Republic Press Agency]. Their report says, among other things: Regarding the origin of the letter in question, the translation of which is available to TASR, it has been described as a forgery by (?Darik Kalef), a spokesman for Former Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic, in a telephone call to TASR from California this evening. Mr. Panic would never write such a letter, he said.

The letter is dated 11 November 1993. However, Milan Panic was the prime minister of the Yugoslav Government only until 29 December 1992.

Nor is the letter considered to be authentic by foreign press agencies. It reached the Office of the Government of the Slovak Republic with regular mail from the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic on 17 January of this year, states the report about the deliberations of the Slovak Republic Government, and continues by saying that this is a regrettable matter.

Foreign Minister Denies Deal

LD2501191594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by correspondent Michal Tvarozek; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik was authorized this morning to meet ambassadors of G-12 countries accredited in Bratislava and to brief them in detail on the regrettable [arms sale] provocation [against Slovakia].

[Tvarozek] The Czechoslovak News Agency [as heard] issued a different report in which your name was given in a certain context and [according to which] you said that the letter in question was probably a forgery. Why do you think so?

[Moravcik] A certain mechanism for arms sales has been set up in our country. This mechanism prevents any abuse of arms deliveries that could contradict the interests of Slovakia. I totally exclude any official talks in this respect.

[Tvarozek] Do you think then that this matter was aimed at discrediting an individual or the [Slovak] Republic?

[Moravcik] I can only confirm that this sale, [arms] sale as indicated [in the letter], is totally out of the question.

[Tvarozek] Does it mean that somehow something similar could have happened outside the Foreign Ministry's activity?

[Moravcik] I totally exclude this possibility. If any weapon originates here it cannot be exported without a stance from the Foreign Ministry.

President's Office: 'Primitive Forgery'

LD2501200894 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] We have just received a stance issued by the Office of the Slovak President on the letter [sent by Former Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic on arms sales].

The Office of the President of the Slovak Republic considers the letter, about which the Press and Information Department of the Slovak Government's Office said today, to be a transparent provocation against the Slovak Republic. The [president's] office received the letter by regular mail. The letter was then forwarded by the office staff to the addressee. It should be remembered that the [president's] office received the letter dated 12 November 1993 as late as on 12 January 1994. The letter was sent to the Slovak Government's Office on 18 January 1994. This latter period includes a weekend.

The Office of the Slovak President had no doubts that this was a primitive forgery, bearing not even the slightest mark of being trustworthy. The [president's] office decided to forward the letter to the addressee for information and possible investigation. TA SR [Slovak news agency] was informed about this by the president's spokesman, Anton Bodis, in a telephone conversation from Poland.

Meciar Denies Talking With Panic

LD2501213094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Slovak Ministers Jozef Moravcik [foreign affairs], Dusan Slobodnik [culture], and Jozef Tuchyna [interior] held a briefing at the government office for senior representatives of the main media and dailies about a letter which, according to the ministers, was to discredit Slovakia by accusing it of an attempt to breach the embargo on exporting arms to the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

At the [Slovak] cabinet session, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told its members that he had never held any talks [with Former Yugoslav Prime Minister] Milan Panic, neither in person nor in writing. [passage omitted]

Meciar on Dividing Along Ethnic Lines

LD2501115794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] The amendment to the law on official language and to the law on territorial and administrative division [of Slovakia] should be on the agenda of the meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic that is scheduled to begin tomorrow. Those who live in cities and villages with an ethnically mixed population hope that the issue of naming [in either Slovak or Hungarian] these cities and villages will be finalized there. This was one of the issues discussed during [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar's visit to Dunajska Streda yesterday. Peter Rohac asked the prime minister what will happen next:

[Begin recording] [Meciar] Basically, we shall have to opt out for one of two options. The first is the government-sponsored proposal according to which cities and villages will be named either in Hungarian or in the language of another nationality, provided that more than 20 percent of citizens of the given nationality live there. It is thought that local names will be either translated into the minority language or transcribed in the minority language.

On the other hand, there is a proposal that is a result of a roundtable discussion held by the president. According to this proposal, local names could be rendered in any [required] way. It is not likely that other options would be considered. Both of these options are acceptable to Europe [Council of Europe] and deputies will decide on them.

[Rohac] Can you say then that the necessary accommodating attitude on your part does actually exist?

[Meciar] As for my accommodating attitude, there is more than enough of it. However, there is a limit to demands, and we cannot go beyond this limit. This limit is given by human and civic rights. Furthermore, there is a limit to making a division along ethnic lines. Each principle of collective rights means also the principle of collective responsibility and the principle of collective guilt. Thus, if we reject responsibility for the consequences of collective decisions, because according to law only individual persons can be responsible, we cannot pass this responsibility on to a group of people by creating a border along ethnic lines in Southern Slovakia. I really am not prepared to talk about this issue. [end recording]

Jeszenszky: Talk of Friendship 'Hypocritical'

AU2101130194 Bratislava SME in Slovak 14 Jan 94 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Ivan Drabek in Prague on 13 January: "A Single Article for Nineteen"]

[Text] Highest level Slovak-Hungarian bilateral talks took place on Wednesday [12 January] on the initiative of President Arpad Goncz on the occasion of the Prague summit of five presidents.

[Drabek] What was the focus of the talks?

[Jeszenszky] At the meeting with Michal Kovac, President Goncz presented a long list of problems that must be solved. These were basically international issues. President Kovac has shown a very friendly and accommodating attitude. He, too, desires close cooperation, affinity of thought, and an overcoming of prejudices.

Unfortunately, there was no time to address individual problems. The Hungarian side indicated only that the issue of opening new border crossings should be included in the agenda as soon as possible, but President Kovac did not give a specific answer to the specific proposals by the Hungarian side because, according to him, it is necessary to discuss it further.

[Drabek] One of the conditions for joining the Partnership for Peace program is the recognition of the unchangeability of the border. Could the Hungarian acceptance of NATO conditions facilitate the overcoming of one of the problematic points of Hungarian-Slovak relations, the inclusion of this clause in the basic bilateral treaty?

[Jeszenszky] This is a question the Slovak press writes about a lot, and with no reason. Hungary has always observed the inviolability of the border. We have recognized it in two peace treaties, in Helsinki, and, since 1990, in numerous official government statements at both formal and informal meetings. We do not consider it necessary to repeat ourselves all the time. It is an artificial problem.

[Drabek] There is, however, a clause about the inviolability of the border in the Hungarian-Ukrainian treaty....

[Jeszenszky] There are very important articles on the protection of minorities. A three-and-a-half page statement on this topic is enclosed. There is a minority law in Ukraine. Although, for economic reasons, the political and cultural rights in that country are not at an ideal level, we have met with a very genial attitude on the Ukrainian side. I will illustrate it with the town of Beregovo, where the Ukrainian and Hungarian flags fly next to one another at the town hall.

[Drabek] What is your postsummit stand on the demand of the Slovak side to include the clause on the inviolability of the border in our bilateral treaty?

[Jeszenszky] The Hungarian stand on this issue has been absolutely clear for a long time. It seems, however, that it has not been heard in Slovakia, although the distance between Budapest and Bratislava really is not long. The problem is not in the clause. If we reach a joint resolution on a number of other problems, we will be able to find a suitable formulation also concerning the border. To illustrate, let me observe that the treaty has about 20 articles, and one of them can deal with the confirmation of the border, which, by the way, does not need any confirmation, as they are guaranteed by the world powers. If we can agree on the remaining 19 articles, there will not be any problems with the last one.

In other conversations with reporters in Prague on Wednesday, Geza Jeszenszky emphasized that the open questions in Slovak-Hungarian relations concern not only the national problems but also the economy and culture. To the objection that international relations not be burdened by the internal affairs of Slovakia, the head of Hungarian diplomacy observed that, at the recent Komarno assembly, the 600,000-strong Hungarian minority in Slovakia submitted sober and feasible proposals, and, according to him, it would be hypocritical to speak of friendship before this ancient problem is solved.

Institute Analyzes Nation's Security Policy

AU2101214494 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan 94 p 8

[TA SR report: "Unclear Military Doctrine; Slovakia Without Enemies but Also Without Friends"]

[Text] Munich—Slovakia does not have any irreconcilable enemies, but it does not have any genuine friends, either. In the best case, Slovakia is a state whose regime must yet develop, states the study "View of the Security and Threat in East and Central Europe," issued by the Cologne-based Federal Institute for Eastern Studies and International Policy.

The study claims that the government parties lack consensus on defense policy and do not have a dominant concept, apart from general proclamations. The opposition does not have such a concept, either, and, in general, the political elites in Slovakia do not consider this issue to be urgent.

The study states that, after the division of the federal republic, the Slovak Republic inherited conditions that are far worse than those of the Czech Republic and that its orientation is also complicated by its foreign policy, which evokes skepticism. The concept to gain admission into NATO, along with the countries of the Visegrad Four, is understandable. However, even here a clear policy line is lacking. The study quotes Slovak Army Commander Julius Humaj, who gives preference to a Slovak military model and does not want to imitate the West.

The study by the Federal Institute for Eastern Studies and International Policy states with satisfaction that Hungary is not considered a hostile country and that no endeavor to reinforce Slovakia's southern border or to concentrate troops there can be observed. It also stresses that the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is not exposed to oppression and enjoys the same civic rights as Slovak citizens.

Financing, Cost of Mochovce Nuclear Plant

AU2501175894 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Jan 94 pp 1, 12

[Interview with representatives of the EMO shareholding company, set up on 19 January to complete the Mochovce nuclear power plant, by Vladimir Duduc; place and date not given: "Completion With Several Question Marks"]

[Excerpts] Last week, on the occasion of the signing of the founding documents of the Elektrarne Mochovce [Mochovce Electric Power Plants, EMO] shareholding

company, we asked representatives of individual EMO shareholders for an interview. [passage omitted]

First we approached Jean Michel Fauve, director of International Relations of Electricite de France.

[Duduc] What will be your part in financing the completion of the first two units of the Mochovce nuclear power plant?

[Fauve] The investment sum has not been firmly determined yet. Our negotiations with subcontractors continue and will not end until the end of March. Only then will we know exactly what financial resources will be needed. According to preliminary estimates, they should be in the range of 1 to 1.5 billion German marks [DM]. Naturally, we will try hard for the sum to be as low as possible.

The project will be financed in the usual way. This means that we as shareholders will participate with approximately one-quarter of the total costs, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Union will each supply slightly over one-third of financial resources. The remaining approximately DM200 million will be invested by other European banking and financial institutions.

[Duduc] How will these investments be repaid?

[Fauve] Simply—by selling electricity. Personally, I assume—and I believe that my hope is justified—that only small amounts of electricity will have to be exported. First of all, we anticipate that a large number of Slovak enterprises will participate in the completion of the first two units of the power plant, so as to minimize demand for foreign exchange. Believe me, it is not in our interests to damage the Slovak economy. We want your economy to be strong because only on this basis will Slovakia be able to repay the credits.

[Duduc] How much electricity will be exported?

[Fauve] Of the power plant's total capacity of 900 megawatts [MW] after the completion of the first two units, a maximum of 200 MW will be exported. The Mochovce nuclear power plant is here to satisfy the energy needs of the Slovak economy and not those of foreign countries. [passage omitted]

[Duduc] How much do you intend to invest in the safety systems?

[Fauve] Almost one-half of the projected total investment. This is an enormous sum, which is sufficient, in my opinion.

[Duduc] Had Mochovce been in France, would the authorities have permitted the plant's completion?

[Fauve] I can say that they would, under the conditions proposed by our company. [passage omitted]

According to the founding documents, a part of Electricite de France's share in EMO is to be purchased in the near future by Bayernwerk A.G., which should thus become the second foreign shareholder in EMO. With an annual turnover of roughly DM6 billion, Bayernwerk is one of Germany's largest energy companies. Ludwig Strauss, vice president of the concern's board, shared with us some of his views.

[Duduc] Why did Germany back away from the completion of the fifth unit of the Greifswald nuclear power plant on the territory of the former GDR [German Democratic Republic], which is identical to Mochovce in type and design?

[Strauss] We not only backed away from the completion of the fifth unit but also have completely decommissioned that power plant. According to German legal and safety norms, it was impossible to continue its operation.

[Duduc] Let me ask you the same question that I put to your colleague from Electricite de France. Had Mochovce been in Germany, would the authorities have permitted the plant's completion?

[Strauss] This is an appropriate question. Let me answer it with another question. What [nuclear] power plant would be completed in Germany today? [passage omitted]

The sole Slovak representative in the newly formed shareholding company is Slovensky Energeticky Podnik [Slovak Energy Company, SEP]. We asked Rudolf Kvetan, its director general, whether some alternative independent study on the use and completion of Mochovce had been prepared.

[Kvetan] All studies, irrespective of whether they concerned technical aspects, nuclear safety, costs, or environmental compatibility, had been made by independent institutions. As far as financial audit is concerned, it was not SEP that carried it out but Electricite de France.

[Duduc] On what basis did you choose Electricite de France and the Bayernwerk A.G. as your partners?

[Kvetan] The choice of partners was not a question of the last few days but must be perceived as a long-term process. In our case, it lasted two years. The completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant under the new conditions, in which a matter of this sort cannot be decided by our state alone but where dialogue with the whole of Europe is needed, required that we find partners who are ready to help and are able to guarantee European safety criteria. I believe that we were successful in that.

Rewards for SNS Deputies for Removing Cernak

AU2101162494 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 15 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by "pet": "The Price of Cernak's Head"]

[Text] Bratislava—In connection with the formation of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Slovak

National Party [HZDS-SNS] coalition, reports started appearing in the mass media about attempts to break up the SNS from the inside. These activities were targeted directly at the SNS leadership, at eliminating SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak and Deputy Chairmen Igor Uhrik, Anton Hrnko, and Andrej Findo. We have learned from well-informed circles close to the ruling movement who wish to remain anonymous that leading HZDS and government representatives had promised some SNS representatives rewarding posts in the state administration or other lucrative positions for the realization of these intentions.

Vitazoslav Moric, employee of the Office of the President, has received the offer to become chief of the Armex holding, which is engaged in selling weapons abroad. According to the unidentified source, Prime Minister Meciar has already signed the letter of appointment, but Vitazoslav Moric will receive it only after Ludovit Cernak is eliminated.

Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Prokes is supposed to receive for the realization of the set target the post of minister of foreign affairs, in addition to his present post, once Jozef Moravcik is recalled.

Deputy Prime Minister Marian Andel, after his unsuccessful start in his government post, is to assume the post of deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] once Ludovit Cernak is recalled from that post.

NRSR Deputy Miroslav Kona has received the offer to become governor of the Nitra region after the adoption of a new territorial and administrative setup of the Slovak Republic.

Milan Letko, deputy to the NRSR for the SNS, is to take up the post of state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture in exchange for his party's identity. [sentence as published]

Under the same scenario, Igor Chamula, deputy to the NRSR for the SNS, who is a member of the NRSR Committee for State Administration, Territorial Self-Administration, and Ethnic Minorities, is to be transferred to the NRSR Committee for Education, Science, and Culture and become its chairman.

Jan Slota, deputy to the NRSR for the SNS, who is also mayor of Zilina, received the promise that no inspection would be carried out in the Zilina City Council.

As our source informed us, these efforts are to result in another tabling of the law on deputies, after the passage of which members of the Club of Independent Deputies and the SNS National Democratic Club are to be excluded from parliament.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 17 January on page 1 carries a 500-word interview with Vitazoslav Moric by Bohumil Olach entitled "Normal Procedure or Corruption?" The place and date of the interview are not given. Asked whether it is true that he is to become director of Armex, Moric replies that he has already been appointed to that position and that he will take it up "in the course of next week," after winding down his work in the Office of the President.]

List of Foreign Ministry Officials Published

AU2601120394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Jan 94 p 16

[First installment of unattributed list of names: "Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic"]

[Text]

Docent Jozef Moravcik, LL.D., candidate of sciences—minister

Jan Lisuch, LL.D.—state secretary

Engineer Milan Tancar—office head

Miroslav Lajcak, LL.D.—director of the Minister's Section

Emil Kuchar, LL.D.—director of the Analyses and Planning Department

Jan Soth, LL.D.—director of the Personnel Department

Engineer Milan Zachar—director of Diplomatic Protocol

Engineer Frantisek Dlhopolcek—director of the Bilateral Cooperation Section

Ivan Sveda, LL.D.—director of First Territorial Department

Engineer Branislav Hitka—director of Second Territorial Department

Engineer Ivan Zachar—director of Third Territorial Department

Jozef Macisak, LL.D., candidate of sciences—director of Fourth Territorial Department

Marian Tomasik—director of Fifth Territorial Department

Miroslav Musil, Ph.D., candidate of sciences—director of the Multilateral Cooperation Section

Igor Hajdusek, LL.D.—director of the International Organizations Department

Engineer Dusan Bella—director of International Economic Cooperation

Engineer Jan Jursa—director of the European Integration Department

Engineer Ivan Horvat—director of the Foreign Aid Department

Daniela Rozgon—director of the Press, Information, and Cultural Relations Section

Roman Buzek, LL.D.—director of the Press Department

Peter Holasek, Ph.D.—director of the Information Department

Marianna Oravcova, Ph.D.—director of the Cultural Relations Department

Ivo Hlavacek, LL.D.—director of the International Law and Consular Affairs Section

Milan Kollar, LL.D.—director of the International Law Department

Jozef Cibula, LL.D.—director of the Consular Affairs Department

Eva Vavrova, LL.D.—director of the Human Rights, Minorities, and Migration Department

(to be completed tomorrow)

Completion of List

AU2601120594 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Jan 94 p 16

[Second and last installment of unattributed list of names: "Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] (completion from yesterday)

Engineer Dusan Rozbora—director of the Administrative Section

Silvester Minarovic, LL.D.—director of the General Secretariat

Augustin Niznansky, doctor of natural sciences—director of the Special Assignments Department

Engineer Jaroslav Uhrin—director of the Information Systems Department

Albin Homola—director of the Special Liaison Department [*odbor specialneho spojenia*]

Engineer Jan Tusim—director of the Economic Section

Engineer Stanislav Zofcak—director of the Financial Department

Engineer Rudolf Zabojnik, candidate of sciences—director of the Investment and Operations Department

Engineer Ernestina Federicova—Wage Issues Department

Engineer Stefan Sloser—director of the Services Department

Central Banker Criticizes Government Policy

AU2501161394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Marian Tkac, vice governor of the Slovak National Bank, by unspecified NARODNA OBRODA reporters in Bratislava on 19 January: "The State Owes the Bank Some 50 Billion"]

[Text] At the outset of the discussion in our editorial office, Engineer Marian Tkac, vice governor of the Slovak National Bank [NBS], complimented NARODNA OBRODA on its balanced reporting and for preferring facts to conjectures and sensations. He did not fail to remind us that, a year ago, we promised, with a grain of salt, to kiss his hand should the 1993 rate of inflation fall short of 30 percent. The inflation has been maintained at 26 percent, and debts toward the bank must be settled. We self-critically apologized for having been "doubting Thomases," but this did not prevent us from asking other tough questions....

[NARODNA OBRODA] How do you assess, after one year, the original forecasts about the economy of independent Slovakia? Citizens have kept in mind, in particular, your prediction that we would be buying one Czech koruna for 1.06 Slovak korunas [Sk]. We are now paying Sk1.20 for a Czech koruna. You erred by more than 200 percent. Why?

[Tkac] Your calculations are interesting. But independence is only the first prerequisite for decisions about your own wallet to be wiser and to respect your own interests than when they are made by your neighbor. The exchange rate that I predicted was initially the reality. Had we carried out a more farsighted economic policy, the exchange rate would have been maintained, in my opinion.

[NARODNA OBRODA] But the NBS, too, should participate in such an economic policy....

[Tkac] I believe that the NBS has met its share of duties. It started to be built in November 1992, on 1 January 1993 it began to operate, after 8 February 1993 it managed to establish the Slovak currency, and in September it sold a $240-million issue of NBS securities, something that only the Czechs and the Hungarians [from among the postcommunist countries] have accomplished. The stability of the currency and its internal convertibility, that is the task of the NBS. To use this money, however, is up to the government and the entrepreneurial sector. With 26 percent, Slovakia has maintained the second lowest annual rate of inflation [in the postcommunist bloc], after the Czech Republic. We have maintained the internal convertibility of the currency and have even increased the foreign currency quota for the population.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Forecasters predict an inflation rate of 17-19 percent for this year, the government 10-12 percent, and the NBS 13 percent. How come?

[Tkac] It is simple math. Of last year's 26 percent, 8 percent were accounted for by the introduction of the value-added tax and 5 percent by devaluation. When you subtract these two factors, you arrive at approximately 13 percent. Essentially, the NBS would be able to keep inflation as low as 10 percent. The question is, at what price in terms of unemployment or budget deficit? The bank cannot make decisions on this price.

[NARODNA OBRODA] How independent of the government is the NBS really? And what is the real deficit of the '93 state budget? The NBS and the Ministry of Finance are passing to one another the hot potato of responsibility for the state budget [deficit]. Would it not be possible for the two highest financial officials to clarify these issues in person?!

[Tkac] The third question provides a reply to the first one. Had we been dependent, we would never dare reject the finance minister's accusations. We assess daily the fulfillment of the state budget. But, just as a commercial bank cannot willfully manipulate your account without an order from you, we are only charged with the management of the account. The budget deficit could still be lowered by the assessment of definitive taxes for 1993, by the recovery of the Slovak Republic's claims abroad, and by the return of outlays that turn out to have been unwarranted.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What is the exact meaning of the term "support for the government's economic policy" in the law on the NBS?

[Tkac] This term comes from the exact translation of the law on the German Bundesbank. It is impossible to have two autonomous policies—the bank's monetary policy and the government's economic policy. But do not forget that this support must be in conformity with the law on the NBS. We are responsible for the quality of the koruna. But the availability of a sufficient amount of korunas and their quick circulation—that belongs to the government's jurisdiction. It would be ideal, figuratively speaking, that, when you spend Sk100 on beer today, the brewery should get paid the next day, and the farmer should get money for hops and malt the day after. This will not happen if the pub owner uses your money to buy himself a Mercedes.

[NARODNA OBRODA] At the outset, you complained about the absence of economic policy and strategy. Do you have your own ideas as to how economic policy could be improved?

[Tkac] Look, 60-80 percent of economic policy is determined by the state budget. The state budget is a law approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. and, hence, there is nothing to discuss anymore. It would be necessary to supplement the strategy with priorities, which is what we are still lacking. We in the NBS have therefore set our own priorities. This year, we regard as priorities exports and agriculture, to which we are adapting some of our monetary instruments.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What is actually your view of the state budget?

[Tkac] Personally, I would prefer a more unambiguous specification of the purposes for which the budget deficit will be used, as well as a more precise definition of the resources from which it will be covered. Those $40 million that we have paid from the state budget to the Czech Republic within the clearing system had actually been spent on food. If you cannot make ends meet at home, you either have to press your wife to spend less, borrow, or make more money. The third option would be the most sympathetic one to me.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Or there is the fourth option—to swap your wife. How much does the state actually owe the NBS?

[Tkac] About Sk50 billion.

[NARODNA OBRODA] And what is the NBS's annual profit?

[Tkac] About Sk6 billion.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The Czech National Bank made a profit of only 200 million. Don't you think you have scraped this money off us, the citizens? Businessmen cannot but include those fabulous interest rates in their costs, and we are then paying for it!

[Tkac] Our profit is the result of the NBS's entire activity, which includes trading in bank assets. The crediting of state loans is associated with the projected balanced budget [for 1993], which actually turned out to have been a budget deficit. The interest rate on credits is a different matter. If you had a million, would you deposit it in the bank, if the bank paid you 2 percent, given an inflation rate of 26 percent? You will deposit the money if the bank gives you 12, 13, or even 16 percent. Even so, you will lose Sk100,000 in a year. The savings bank will add a margin of 4 percent. It will lend the money to Vseobecna Uverova Banka [General Credit Bank, VUB], which needs 3 percent [profit margin] to survive. And you arrive at 19 percent. Many businessmen would kiss your hands if they received credit even under these conditions. The interest rate on credits is not the bank clerk's invention. It is influenced by inflation and the price of money on the market. When demand for money markedly exceeds supply, the price of money must increase. By the way, those approximately Sk6 billion flowed into the state budget, in conformity with the law. The profit was thus used for the benefit of the citizen.

[NARODNA OBRODA] One last question: When appointing you, Prime Minister Meciar considered you a top-level financial expert. Today, his comments about you are less flattering, to use a euphemism. How do you explain that?

[Tkac] I have always been an advocate of independent Slovakia and have always defended its interests. These are not always identical with the interests of some states

around us or with the views of some people in our country. I was, in fact, the first chief of the NBS. We built the NBS in seven weeks; Austria needed seven years to do the same. The bank is working. The prime minister perhaps receives inaccurate information. The matters will become clear in due course.

Poll on Popularity of Print, Broadcast Media

AU2101194694 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Jan 94 p 3

[TA SR report: "NOVY CAS in Lead"]

[Text] Bratislava—NOVY CAS is the most widely read daily in Slovakia. This emerges from the results of a survey carried out by the GfK-Slovakia Ltd. market research institute from 8 November to 6 December 1993. The survey was based on replies by 1,300 respondents chosen randomly from throughout Slovakia.

NOVY CAS [New Time] is read by 25.6 percent of the population, PRAVDA [Truth] is in second place with 17.0 percent, and PRACA [Labor] third with 9.3 percent. The last two places among Slovakia's 13 dailies are held by SLOVENSKY DENNIK [Slovak Daily] with 1.5 percent and HLAS LUDU [People's Voice] with 1.3 percent.

First place among the weeklies is occupied by EUROTELEVIZIA with 28.1 percent, followed by ZIVOT [Life] with 22.5 percent, and SLOVENKA [Slovak Woman] with 17.9 percent. The last two places are held by SLOVENSKY PROFIT [Slovak Profit] with 1.6 and NOVY ROHAC [New Stag Beetle] with 1.5 percent.

The biweekly TINA [female Christian name] is read by 34 percent of the Slovak population, BRAVO is in second place with 13.5 percent, and PLUS 7 DNI [Plus Seven Days] in third with 7.7 percent. STOP AUTO-MOTO-REVUE is in the last place among the biweeklies, with 5.4 percent.

The most widely read monthly is DORKA [female Christian name] (17.8 percent), followed by EVA (15.2 percent) and LISIAK [Fox] (10.3 percent). PLAYBOY (2.1 percent) and DIVKA [Girl] (2.0) percent ranked last among monthlies.

Regarding the popularity of radio stations, Slovensko 1 is first (47.7 percent), ROCK FM RADIO second (27.5 percent), and FUN RADIO third (6.8 percent). RADIO FREE EUROPE, which is listened to by 1.5 percent of the Slovak population, holds the penultimate place and RADIO TWIST the last place, with 1 percent.

Among television stations, STV [Slovak Television] 1 is in first place (73.6 percent), STV 2 in second (11.2 percent), and [German-language] RTL in third (6.5 percent). The Hungarian TV 2 is in the penultimate place (1.8 percent) and RTL 2 in last place (1.7 percent).

12 National Newspapers Ranked

AU2401134694 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jan 94 p 22

[Article by "NO": "Readership of Dailies"]

[Text] Bratislava—Since incomplete or half-true information on the readership of the national Slovak dailies has appeared in public, we are publishing the results of a survey carried out by the GfK-Slovakia Ltd. market research institute from 8 November to 6 December 1993 on the territory of Slovakia. A total of 1,130 randomly chosen respondents over age 14 were questioned. Individual dailies with nationwide distribution are read by the following percentages of the population:

NOVY CAS	25.5%
PRAVDA	17.0%
PRACA	9.3%
SPORT	7.0%
SMENA	5.5%
NARODNA OBRODA	5.1%
UJ SZO	3.4%
SME	2.8%
DOBRY DEN (ROLNICKE NOVINY)	2.3%
HOSPODARSKE NOVINY	1.8%
REPUBLIKA	1.7%
SLOVENSKY DENNIK	1.3%

A comparison with previous surveys shows that the positions at the top and bottom of the table remain virtually unchanged. The only shifts have occurred in the middle of the table.

Fur Views Relations With NATO, MDF Program

AU2401081694 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 94 p 13

[Interview with Lajos Fur, defense minister and member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's board of directors, by Maria Rozgics; place and date not given: "Today, the Calm Force Is a Winning Force"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rozgics] Many people have expressed their dissatisfaction with the Partnership for Peace program. They feel that the West deceived our region and left it high and dry. How satisfied can we be after the NATO summit?

[Fur] I do not deny that we would have been happy to form closer ties with NATO, but the accepted program of the peace partnership is not little, either. It is a fact that, earlier, when our parliament allowed the flight of NATO AWACS planes in Hungarian airspace, one of our thoughts was that it might not only be our airspace they wanted, but perhaps some kind of closer links could also be formed. The Hungarian Government was not guided by the idea that we definitely want to belong to a military bloc; it was precisely because of the Yugoslav crisis that we wanted more solid guarantees for our security. When many people mention disappointment, they are also right. Talking about the countries called the Visegrad group, it is Poland's disappointment that can be recognized most. For the anguish it had suffered from the former Soviet Union, this country was justified in hoping for better western guarantees.

Hope and Reality

[Rozgics] Is this not what we had expected?

[Fur] Some people in Hungary probably also thought that, for some reason, we might enjoy priority in membership. If we look at our position realistically, we honestly have to admit that the conditions for NATO membership do not yet exist in Hungary. Whether I approach this issue from the technical side, the modernization of armament, of from the budgetary side, we have to see that we cannot yet live up to the demands of NATO membership. At the same time, the recent NATO summit did not exclude the possibility of later membership, and it also left the doors open on the road of the peace partnership. This can establish the conditions for a widespread membership, which possibility we will definitely have to use sometime in the future. Recently, when U.S. General John Shalikashvili and Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, visited Hungary, we also discussed the possibility of closer cooperation on this occasion. It would be too early to discuss how, and in what proportion, we would participate in the planned NATO military exercises. It is certain that there will also be progress in training for peace-keeping—I would not like to list all the plans just now. In my view, NATO's decision is certainly a positive achievement for us and for our region. [passage omitted]

[Rozgics] Let us talk about the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Four years ago, when you were preparing for the elections, "calm force" was your slogan. What will it be in 1994?

[Fur] I would prefer to choose "winning force," but I think that our experts in rhetorics will discard this because of the way it sounds. I do not know what slogan we will have, but I would not even mind if it remained "calm force." The MDF has always represented this calm force. This can be the only goal of a reform party. We must direct the country's fate by being free of extremism, taking the national interests into consideration, and walking on the center path, and this political direction is best expressed by calmness.

[Rozgics] So you might not change your slogan. What about the party's election program?

[Fur] Ference Kulin [chairman of the MDF's parliamentary group] could say more about this. Our experts are busy working on our election program, but I might already tell you that our party will not change its course. I am not claiming that the transformation of the Hungarian economy, the change of the structure, and privatization have all been completed, but the framework is given. Through a good economic program, we will have the chance to overcome our problems. Unemployment has decreased, and we have stopped inflation, but the economic boom does not only depend on us, Hungarians. I was recently talking to Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, and we think that it is not an exaggeration to say that the current world economic crisis is similar to that in 1929 to 1933. It was then that this kind of deep and lasting crisis situation arose, and how could this small country, Hungary, have escaped it! However, I could also mention our closer region. The former CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries are all struggling with crises, and the events in Yugoslavia and the UN embargo were not kind to us, either. While the opposition is only blaming us for the troubles, in my view, it is foolish not to mention these factors. This government could probably have made different decisions, too, it might have brought more popular measures, however I honestly believe that, under these circumstances, in the situation when we took over the country, no one else could have produced wonders. When the Hungarian nation voted for the MDF, people did so precisely because they felt our program was good and what they liked. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Leader Views Election Prospects

AU2501190694 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Jan 94 pp 1,3

[Interview with Gabor Kuncze, parliamentary group leader of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Mihaly Bak; place and date not given: "The Voting Has To Be Made Into Election"]

[Text] In Kuncze's view, it will only be possible to decide on coalition cooperation on the basis of the parties' programs. He also asserts that the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has to be open to all democratic parties. Kuncze, the SZDSZ's prime ministerial nominee, is aware that the next government will not have any days of grace.

[Bak] People are busy guessing who will form a coalition with whom after the elections. The parties tend not to answer these questions. However, is political pragmatism or the obligation to inform the electors more important? Tivadar Farkashazy [stand-up comedian] said that if he can only find out after the elections which parties form alliances with each other, then he will only vote after the elections.

[Kuncze] A very witty comment, but invalid elections might be the result of it. The SZDSZ answered the question, because it said that it is open to all democratic parties. In my view, the parties that exclude even the possibility of cooperating with certain parties actually cast doubt on the essence of parliamentary democracy. The parliamentary majority always reflects the will of the voters. We can only start talks when we know the election results and the programs. The SZDSZ has drawn up its election program, which will be approved by the meeting of deputies this weekend. However, we do not yet know the programs of other parties.

[Bak] Nevertheless, you can draw some conclusions on the basis of the past records of parties and their current changing attitudes.

[Kuncze] Naturally. We can conclude that the parties are changing and we cannot tell in what condition they will be when they reach the elections. Let us remember what the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] or the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] have been through, or let us look at the debates that have surfaced in the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. The SZDSZ is looking at the electors' problems and is not dealing with other parties.

[Bak] The FIDESZ and the MDF have named certain parties with which they exclude the possibility of a future coalition. You have not done this.

[Kuncze] I can only repeat that the SZDSZ does not reject any democratic parties. However, I can also confirm that cooperation will have very strict conditions.

[Bak] Can I interpret this in such a way that there is some difference between the views of the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ, as is claimed by outside observers? There also seems to be another contradiction. The SZDSZ's leaders have formerly stated that, if they win, it would be impossible for them to keep the MDF in power.

[Kuncze] The outcome of the elections can create many different situations. However, in addition to the ability to coordinate the programs, there is another point, namely the country has to be governable. The political forces of the center have to be prepared for cooperation in all directions. At our talks with the FIDESZ, we did not have disagreements on strategic issues. Regardless of this, the leaders of these two parties do not normally coordinate their public statements. On the other hand, I do not want to accept that the structure of the coalition after the elections is the most important political issue. How could we have more workplaces, less crime, more efficient education, and a better health service? These are the issues we are considering, and our meeting of deputies will also discuss these issues.

[Bak] Do you agree with the claim that we again will have more or less negative elections? Will people again vote according to whom they do not wish to see in government? According to surveys, almost 40 percent of the population rejects the current coalition. If this is the result, will it not be against the will of the voters to strengthen the government with these parties?

[Kuncze] If the vast majority of the electors vote against the current government parties then this will have to be taken into consideration when the next government is formed. It would not be good to have negative elections again. This is precisely the reason why the campaign should focus on what the various sides see as solutions to the country's serious problems. The voting has to be made into a real election.

[Bak] The SZDSZ appears to be much more cohesive than a year ago. To what do you attribute the fact that, according to the surveys, its public image has not improved much?

[Kuncze] The SZDSZ is indeed united. Public opinion polls indicate that the party's recognition is increasing constantly. We have 15 percent support among the electorate. At the latest survey, the smallest number of people marked the SZDSZ in response to the question "which party would you definitely not vote for," and the MDF had the worst result. Almost 40 percent of the electors would like to see the SZDSZ in government. From this, we concluded that there is enough support for the SZDSZ.

[Bak] Is the future SZDSZ government preparing for a "clean-up?"

[Kuncze] When we talk about changes, we mainly think of the economic and the political style. We would find it very unfortunate if Hungarian politics was characterized by clean-up campaigns every four years. Unfortunately, our political culture has not developed the way it should have in the past four years. The MDF government is much to be blamed for this, because it continued the former practice and considered political loyalty more important than professional abilities. People who can prove themselves professionally are not to be afraid of us. The change in the government has to be implemented without any hitches. The fixed-term—usually five-year—work contracts recently made within the government's jurisdiction do not help to achieve this. Breaking these contracts might be very costly. Let us just

remember the tens of millions of forints paid in the State Property Management Corporation.

[Bak] Have you made any tentative enquiries as to who in state administration would be willing to serve a liberal government?

[Kuncze] Under normal conditions, the apparatus serves the government in office. In my view, the majority of the state administration fulfills this requirement. We have not made any tentative enquiries.

[Bak] The government's members are promising—now, to their honor—an economic upturn for this year. Do the calculations of the SZDSZ's experts support this view?

[Kuncze] No. Of course, it would be good if the economy started to go upwards. However, the conditions for this do not come about by themselves. It is the SZDSZ's goal to establish the conditions, and this task is now waiting for the next government, because the current government has missed its chances. The current government has lost its credibility. Every year, it promised an improvement that never happened and, in the meantime, it was possible to see from the facts that the promised results could not have materialized.

[Bak] Should we worry that the next government will not be able to fulfill its term because of the economic troubles?

[Kuncze] Being familiar with the situation, I refuse to accept that it is impossible to change the current conditions. If we are part of the next government, our action plan contains the jobs to be done. We must achieve a cheaper state, predictable conditions, stable regulations, and an increase in investments, so that an economic boom can start as soon as possible.

[Bak] You have also met Prime Minister Peter Boross. Apparently, you discussed the points on which you disagree. Is this correct?

[Kuncze] Progress has certainly been made in the sense that the government and the biggest opposition party are again on talking terms. However, we cannot expect any changes in the Boross-led government's policy. We do not really expect any changes; during the debate of the government program in Parliament, I said that we see this cabinet as temporary. The government shut itself off from the possibility of changes through the laws it accepted at the end of 1993, for example the budget. Therefore, all we expect is that it consults the opposition on important issues and that it does not take measures that are harmful for the economy as a whole, putting it on a restricted course. It seems that the only thing the prime minister is willing to do is give information.

[Bak] Does the SZDSZ expect that it will not have a 100 days of grace if it comes to power?

[Kuncze] Yes, it does. The next government will have to begin its work immediately and it must not lose its credibility as the current government did. For this very reason, the SZDSZ will face the coalition talks with concrete ideas and complete proposals.

'Radical Nationalists' Chairman Views Goals

AU2401161194 Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 22 Jan 94 p 71

[Interview with Albert Szabo, chairman of the World National Popular Rule Party, by unidentified reporter: "Everyday Hungarism"]

[Text] Last week, with its "educational lecture" in Angyalfold [Budapest district] on the "true story" of the SS, the World National Popular Rule Party [VNP] attracted much attention to itself in the press. The VNP was registered on 11 October 1993 at the Budapest Court. We interviewed Chairman Albert Szabo, who returned from Australia in 1993, on the organization that consciously upholds Hungarist [Hungarian neo-Nazi] traditions.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] The slogans "Persevere!" and "Foreigners, Out!" are on one of your leaflets. Mr. Szabo, let us not beat about the bush, is your party a national-socialist party?

[Szabo] I do not draw parallels between our ideology and national socialism. We use the term popular rule. We want socialism that stands on national bases.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] Could you explain this in more detail?

[Szabo] Parliament should enact a general Hungarian law. This could ensure that the fragments of peoples living here could live their lives as Hungarians.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] The term "radical nationalists" is written under the name of the party on your green-colored card. What do you wish to express through this?

[Szabo] For us, nationalism means the love of the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian race, respect for the ancestors, and a heroic view of life. In our view, it is impossible to exaggerate the love of the country. The native land can be loved passionately but never excessively.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] Is exaggeration also out of the question in the case of the Russian, or let us say, Romanian extreme national forces?

[Szabo] There is a difference between racism and nationalism. We reject the idea of racial superiority. Hungarian nationalism is tolerant and it is fundamentally based on the recognition of cultural superiority.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] A few months ago, it was rumored that the radical right wing set the goal of reinstating the numerus clausus [restricted admission]. Is this what you meant when you mentioned the "Hungarian law"?

[Szabo] We reject the distinction of left wing and right wing. This was invented to divide the nation. However, we do agree that the minorities should only have access to universities and get jobs in various fields in proportion to their numbers.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] How long have you been organizing this party?

[Szabo] We signed our statute at Opusztaszer on 21 June 1993. This is where Arpad [Hungarian chief in ninth century] held the first legislative meeting.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] You wear a black military cap and black jacket, with an arm-band with Arpad stripes. Is this your uniform?

[Szabo] The VNP's uniform is boots, black trousers and jacket, and green or white shirt with black tie. We also wear the arm-band with Arpad stripes, with a 10-pointed star in the middle, at our official events.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] How many groups do you have?

[Szabo] Our strongest local group operates in Szolnok, led by Istvan R. Demeny. We are also present in Gyongyos, Eger, and Nyiregyhaza. Our membership has reached approximately 1,000.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] Are you in contact with the skinheads?

[Szabo] The time of the skinhead movement is over. We only insist on the external marks because they give a disciplined and army-like appearance to our members. However, in our view, people who want to solve the national problems in the streets are doomed to failure.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] What are you preparing for?

[Szabo] The VNP would nationalize the land and utilize it through permanent lease. This way, no one would be able to use land for speculation. We would dismantle the prisons. It is a crime against God to deprive people of their freedom. Those who commit crimes against the people would be isolated from society in settlements: We would organize village-building programs and agricultural work where they could freely express their abilities.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] Do you work together with the national socialists in Gyor?

[Szabo] The movement of Istvan Gyorkos began as a sound Hungarian nationalist movement. Later, when they took up contact with the New Order Association, they went in a direction from which it is hard to return. I cannot imagine any contact with Gyorkos and his group until they take on the representation of Hungarian interests exclusively.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] How old are you, and what have you been doing up to now?

[Szabo] After being away for seven years, I returned to Hungary from Australia in March 1993 when I was 38 years old. I worked as a turner in Australia and also did some research into the philosophy of religions.

[HETI VILAGGAZDASAG] Do you adhere to your classical authors?

[Szabo] I could mention a few names. One is Gyozo Istoczy, who founded the anti-semitic party in Hungary in the last century. However, we attribute major importance to the life and work of Ferenc Szalasi [Hungarian Nazi leader in World War II]. We wish to follow the industrial and agricultural program of the Hungarist movement virtually unchanged.

Labor Party Rejects PFP, NATO Membership

AU2401084394 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Jan 94

["Sz.Sz."-signed report: "Agreement Between the Labor Party and the Labor Platform of the MSZOSZ—Thurmer: There Should Be a Referendum on NATO Membership"]

[Text] We reject the Partnership for Peace program because we are convinced that Hungary's rapprochement to NATO contradicts our national interests, Labor Party Chairman Gyula Thurmer announced at a news conference on 20 January. Thurmer emphasized that they consider it necessary that the minutes of the Prague consultations between U.S. President Bill Clinton and the Hungarian leaders be made public. The Labor Party would like a referendum to be held, in conjunction with the parliamentary elections, on Hungary's NATO membership. Thurmer welcomed the Hungarian-Yugoslav foreign ministerial meeting. At the same time, the Labor Party demands that Hungary stop participating in the economic embargo against Yugoslavia and that it ban NATO aircraft using Hungarian airspace.

At the news conference, Thurmer published the names of the party's list leaders in the various regions. Deputy Chairman Sandor Nyiro will lead the Borsod county list, and Pal Kollat and Joachim Vasas, members of the board of directors, will lead the Budapest and Heves county lists respectively. Thurmer will head the Nograd county list.

In the coming days, the Labor Party will sign an agreement on election cooperation with the left-wing labor platform of the National Federation of Trade Unions in Hungary [MSZOSZ].

Olechowski: Europe Faces Danger of 'New Yalta'

WS2601100694 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Statement by Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski, from the "Questions About Poland" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] In my view, we are indeed facing the danger of a new Yalta. A Yalta in the sense of another division of Europe into the East and the West where we would have countries both on the Eastern and the Western side—anyway on either side—in a situation where those countries would find themselves there against their will—that kind of a Yalta is by no means only a danger of the past. One can imagine the following course of events, while using perhaps some radical but simple phrases: Namely that what President Walesa calls Western nationalism, selfishness, and exclusiveness will prevail in the West, that the West will be willing to open itself up very slowly, that it will be willing to show some gestures—like for instance the one made toward us at one point, in the form of a treaty of association with the European Union [EU] or another example is the current Partnership for Peace proposal—in a very limited way so as to only create certain waiting periods, certain delusions, or the kinds of contacts which would, in the final analysis, not lead to membership. Part of that scenario is also that the West will find it very difficult to carry out internal reforms. We are aware that these are extremely complex institutions in which a lot of compromises had to be made and it was not easy to reach the stage of a harmonious cooperation. Nor is it easy now to widen NATO beyond the 16 members or the EU beyond the 12 members to the level of another dozen or so countries and ultimately it would probably have to be 20-something or even 30 countries. So you see that makes it hard.

On the other hand, we are facing the danger of a situation where Russia will fail to find a place for itself within the world which was created by the West at one point—that is in the world of institutions established at Bretton-Woods, the world of GATT—which is a very competitive kind of world. It could also mean that Russia would be scared by the prospect of being a kind of giant with clay feet which perhaps, I mean which definitely would have nuclear weapons on the one hand, but at the same time it would also have people dying of starvation on the street—that kind of situation could also come about. We—that is Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, and Hungary—already know that we can manage in that competitive world of the IMF and GATT, or the world established by such institutions. But as regards Russia—well, that Western world was not established—and is not prepared—to accept a very big and serious player like this. Now, either the world will demonstrate a certain instinct and a vision of the future and also a kind of far-reaching generosity and it will either make room and try to create a situation where Russia will fit, or else it will not do that. I often make references to the comprehensive vision that President Truman had, who at one point—contrary to opposition by Western allies basically speaking, by overcoming their opposition and by pointing to certain priorities, but back then there was a very significant danger as well—he still managed to rescue Germany and Japan and prevent their final collapse. And what a grand gesture that was! The gesture was also about making room for the two countries on the world market. It seems that we currently seem to be lacking this kind of plan and also Western politicians keep saying that currently there is no money for that, either. Perhaps it is naive on our part but it seems to us that the Western world is wealthier now than it was back in 1949 when it rescued other countries. And the same kinds of arguments are being raised now. Back then the British, for instance, argued that Germany will be a competitive threat to them in the area of the shipyard industry whereas the Japanese will compete with the British colonies. Truman said in 1949: Gentlemen, colonies are already in the past, let us leave them behind. So there are a number of things like these today, that one would have to say good-bye to.

What conclusion can we draw from all that? The first one is that we cannot lose heart over the fact that it is so hard for us to get into the Western world toward which we strive. It is my strong impression that despite everything, we are close to reaching the goal. So we should not deviate from the path—that is one thing. A second thing is that we should strive to make room for Russia and ensure that Russia would fit in it; that is to say that Russia is a democratic country and that it not deviate from the path of reforms. We should also strive to make the world make room for Russia.

Says West Favors Russia

LD2501210294 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrzej Olechowski, who is on a visit to Washington, has accused the West of excessively favoring Russia and the former Soviet Republics, calling this a historical error. After talks at the American State Department and the White House, Minister Olechowski said that if events in Europe were to go in a wrong direction, "Partnership for Peace" could become a guarantee of security.

[Reporter Andrzej Krajewski] After a talk with National Security Advisor Anthony Blake, Minister Olechowski stressed that "Partnership for Peace"...

[Begin Olechowski recording in progress] ...is also a safe proposal.

Well, in the end, "Partnership for Peace" is not now, as it was at the very beginning, some sort of idea to wait a while, later, a waiting room. Today already, it is this sort of developed, mature system, that allows for behavior to take place in a certain way if the situation in Russia were to move on optimistically, as we would all wish. But it

can also be exploited for the determination of a new line in Europe, if the situation were to move badly. [end recording]

[Krajewski] Minister Olechowski did not however wish to say what prescription "Partnership for Peace" has for the endangering of the security of Poland.

[Begin Olechowski recording] It is not necessary to publicly prepare for difficult scenarios. On the other hand, if it were to be otherwise, then well, these talks convince me that the necessary, the necessary, thinking in this direction exists. [end recording]

[Krajewski] For a month, Polish-American relations have been clearly accelerating. The July visit of President Clinton in Warsaw will be the best proof of this. Minister Olechowski said that in Washington he found serious and responsible American politicians. Their behavior will verify this statement.

Prime Minister Pawlak Views Budget, Reforms

WS2501144094 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1910 GMT 23 Jan 94

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Television Second Program Network in Polish at 1910 GMT on 23 January carries another live edition of the "Special Line" program. This edition, which lasts approximately 50 minutes, has the format of a studio debate with Polish Prime Minister Pawlak, moderator Barbara Czajkowska of Polish Television, and two additional guests who enter the discussion later during the program.

During the telecast, viewers are allowed to call the studio but they cannot make comments or express opinions—all they can do is have their calls registered as being either in favor or against what the prime minister is saying. A display of the numbers of these calls is presented on the screen and it is being continuously updated throughout the program.

After the phone numbers are read out for viewers to call and after Czajkowska presents her welcoming remarks, she lists some research data on the level of education in Polish society and on illiteracy, which is particularly prevalent among young people in the countryside. Czajkowska recalls that the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) assured society before the September 1993 elections that there would be a change in the various proportions of individual budget-expenditure items, whereas what in fact happened was that only 0.57 percent of gross domestic product is devoted to education, according to this year's draft budget. Pawlak refutes the dramatic picture presented by the program's moderator and points out that Poland has a great many highly educated people. He also insists on stressing that the country's future will be determined not so much by wealth or foreign assistance as by the nation's own hard work, talent, and courage. Pawlak admits that there is certainly not enough money provided by the budget for education and culture, but he says what is also very important is that repaying the country's domestic debt incurred in the period 1991-93 will cost as much money as the current budget deficit, therefore the government has only as much money to distribute as what is left after the debt repayment is taken into account. Pawlak also stresses that the situation of the education system is determined not just by the budget but also by the entire economy—the weaker the economy, the greater the danger of "domestic exports" meaning that well-educated Poles choose to work for foreign companies in Poland.

On the issue of unemployment, Czajkowska cites the figure of just 10 percent of a special Labor Ministry fund being devoted to "active forms of fighting unemployment." When asked by the moderator to explain whether his cabinet has any ideas for dealing with the unemployment situation, Pawlak points to different types of measures such as highway construction, training, and job creation. He also denies Czajkowska's accusation that the 10 percent is a minor amount, by saying that even though it is only 10 percent, in absolute numbers it amounts to trillions of zlotys which—according to Pawlak—are figures so high that the money could, for instance, solve most of the arms industry's problems. Pawlak thus cautions against looking only at percentages which may in fact mean very high absolute numbers, and he also stresses the importance of using such procedures to facilitate job creation in Poland. Asked about some new and innovative ideas introduced in a town in Walbrzych Voivodship, according to which tax breaks have led to increased investment and consequent job creation, Pawlak says that similar solutions have been adopted throughout the country.

The next issue addressed is the planned lifting of the popiwek, or tax on excessive wage increases. Pawlak is asked about what Czajkowska sees as a danger of laying off some low-skilled laborers as of 1 April, which is when the popiwek will be eliminated; she says that according to some estimates, up to 1 million people may be laid off (popiwek is paid on the average salary offered by a company and, to avoid paying it, many enterprises keep low-skilled and low-paid laborers on their payrolls). The moderator also points to what she sees as a danger of uncontrolled salary increases and the resulting inflation. Pawlak's response is that there is some danger of increased unemployment, but the Labor and Finance Ministries are working on mechanisms to link salary levels to productivity and profit—such mechanisms would then allow for some control over salary levels. Pawlak also reminds viewers that "very market economies" are characterized by joint agreements between employers and employees concerning the rate of earning increases, which is a mechanism controlling salary increases. The prime minister also urges people not to panic over the possible increase in unemployment figures; he says the Sejm will debate the issue and an appropriate Sejm law will be enacted "at the right time."

The first additional guest to join the discussion is Sejm Deputy Jan Maria Rokita, former chief of the Office of

the Council of Ministers who speaks from the television's studio in Krakow. Czajkowska urges both gentlemen to take on the issue of state administration reform, but Rokita prefers to opt for a completely different topic: Namely, he says he would like to share his anxiety with the prime minister concerning what he sees as "disturbingly increasing mechanisms of corruption in the government." He goes on to list several examples—the Food Economy Bank (Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej, BGZ) which—Rokita alleges—has connections with PSL (Pawlak's party) both on a personnel and a financial level. Rokita alleges that the bank gained "completely extraordinary" financial privileges in the range of trillions of zlotys in the draft budget, at a point in time where basic social needs cannot be met for lack of money. Rokita also cites the example of a Polish-German foundation ("Poland's biggest," he says) which has been supporting various investments in the countryside with trillions of zlotys "for very many years now." Rokita also alleges that Pawlak subordinated the foundation to PSL whereas under the previous cabinet it was under the Foreign Ministry. Rokita goes on to express his concern over what he sees as increased ties between the government and the business community, while at the same time some basic measures undertaken by the previous cabined are being abandoned. In response, Pawlak says: "I think it is a very significant thing that Sejm Deputy Rokita here is bothered by issues or dangers linked to ties between politics—or the authorities—and the business community, but you see it so happens that in recent history, it was precisely Mr. Minister [addressing Rokita] and his colleagues who had a say in that regard, so I would look for any possible dangers there. If we take a look at the measures adopted with regard, for instance, to the BGZ—a lot of fuss is being made about that—well, it turns out when we take a look at it, BGZ received quite a minor portion of those resources which were listed in the law on restructuring enterprises and banks; these resources were devoted to a majority of commercial banks precisely to finance the process of restructuring and improving the situation primarily of enterprises—it applies to enterprises and not to banks since government securities solve problems of enterprise indebtedness. Regarding the foundation—the colleagues have not started working yet but Deputy Rokita already assumes they will be corrupted. I think that assumption is unjustified, whereas you [addressing Rokita] are perfectly aware that decisions there will not be made by a few Polish members of the governing board, but there is instead a balance between the Polish and German members of the board, and they make their decisions jointly." Rokita then wants to respond but is told by the moderator that his time expired three minutes ago.

On the mining industry, which is the next topic, Pawlak answers a question about the 3 trillion zlotys the government will spend this year on subsidies for the mining industry. Asked why the level of subsidies is so high only with regard to mining and whether that does not put other branches at a disadvantage, Pawlak lists some figures on subsidies for other areas: the railway system, housing cooperatives, and passenger transportation, which also go into the trillions of zlotys. Pawlak also cautions against ignoring mining in case there is rapid economic development and a resultant increased energy consumption.

The next topic discussed during the interview is the issue of the property beyond the Bug river. Czajkowska cites a recent statement made by Ownership Transformations Minister Kaczmarek where he said that meeting the demands of people whose property is beyond the Bug river "is probably beyond the budget's capabilities" and she also lists the figure of close to 100,000 pending applications which still must be addressed. Pawlak says his cabinet will "certainly try to resolve the issue, especially given that we are planning to finalize the processes linked to reprivatization by the end of this year." He also admits the importance of the problem is significant since ownership relationships will not be properly resolved until reprivatization is settled first. Pawlak says there will definitely be some reimbursements made to people whose property was left beyond the Bug, but he also says reimbursements will not be complete.

Continuing on the topic of reprivatization, Czajkowska introduces the program's final guest—Miroslaw Szypowski, who is vice president of the World Union of Real Estate Owners. He asks Pawlak when the issue of reprivatization will be finalized, by requesting a confirmation of what Pawlak had said before; namely, that reprivatization will be finalized by the end of the year. Pawlak confirms the time schedule but he also cautions against too much enthusiasm since "I think the measures will definitely not be satisfactory to everybody, or even to a majority." Pawlak also cites the German example where reprivatization was carried through to a symbolic extent, and he also says Poland was unfortunate enough to have found itself in a "less interesting part of the world at the end of World War II and oftentimes it is extremely difficult to reverse the consequences of that." Pressed by the moderator to say something on the urgency of the issue, Pawlak says there are special legislative proceedings available, but he also urges the solution of substantive issues first: To what extent will privatization be implemented, and to what extent will it have to be regarded as an "historical cost?"

Regarding the next question addressed to Pawlak, Czajkowska says there was an "unimaginable number" of letters and phone calls regarding the lot of senior citizens and other similar groups worst off in society. The moderator says in light of recently announced price increases on heating, food, transportation tickets, and medicines, senior citizens and pensioners in particular feel they have been cheated since the recent modest increases in retirement pensions are so minor that they seem illusory. Pawlak responds by saying that his government had decided to increase retirement and other kinds of pensions effective 1 January and not 1 March, as planned by the previous cabinet. Pawlak also accuses the main television newscast of showing only one side of the

story—that is the price increases—while ignoring the other side. He also says the rate of price increases is currently lower than that of 1992 or 1993. Pawlak adds that economic development and increased exports will in the long run contribute to an improvement of the living conditions of the groups talked about.

Regarding the issue of punishing some crimes committed under past regimes and on Pawlak's position on holding people accountable for their past deeds, he replies that justice must certainly prevail in cases where guilt is obvious and has been proven, but he says that trying to "rewrite history or dig through it again will unfortunately fail since history is as it is; it is often very dramatic and painful for many people and families, but it is the way it is and we will not succeed in changing it. So we must be careful for history not to repeat itself."

On a complete change of topic, the moderator asks Pawlak about new techniques for gas processing using methyl alcohol which would decrease the amount of lead in the air. Pawlak says the idea is nothing new and he promises to deal with the issue later.

Asked about a recent exchange between Prelate Henryk Jankowski and Minister of State Mieczyslaw Wachowski concerning allegations that Wachowski had interfered with a report by former Polish National Bank Chairman Grzegorz Wojtowicz, Pawlak says he is not a party to the dispute and he will leave the issue to the courts and Public Prosecutors Office; he refuses to involve the government directly in the dispute.

During the program's final moments, Pawlak is told he has 30 seconds to make any closing remarks. This is what he says: "Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to stress first of all that Poland can and will be a strong country because of our work, our talents, and the knowledge that Polish people have. In these joint measures of ours, a lot depends on the government but we have to keep in mind that a state is composed of society, a territory, and a government. We have to take a common approach to all these common issues of ours while looking for the kinds of solutions which will actively develop our country domestically, but also to very actively open up to foreign countries and look for partners in many directions, in those places where they positively respond to our offers. Then Poland—while being located where it is and at this unique historical time when we have a chance to direct our future and shape our development on our own—then Poland will definitely have a chance to achieve success."

The final tally of viewer calls displayed on the screen is: 4,155 votes in favor of what the prime minister said and 5,075 against, to which Pawlak says with a smile: "This just shows that we need to radically increase the number of telephones in rural areas."

Pawlak Receives Former German Foreign Minister

LD2501220894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Today, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak received Hans Dietrich Genscher, who had arrived in Poland at the invitation of the Polish Business Club which had awarded him the Polish Business Oscar prize. Prime Minister Pawlak told journalists that the two politicians discussion concerned economic issues. According to the prime minister, cooperation between Poland and Germany could be wider and better balanced.

Genscher, former German foreign affairs minister, and now a Bundestag deputy, gave assurances that Germany strongly emphasized closer links between Poland and the European Community. He recalled that it was a German motion that brought about Poland's association with the EC. He expressed his hope that the association would relatively quickly lead to Poland's EC membership. Genscher added that for the Germans the European Union without Poland was incomplete.

Kolodziejdzyk Comments on Prague Visit

LD2501221994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] This evening National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejdzyk returned home after a two-day official visit to the Czech Republic.

[Begin Kolodziejdzyk recording] The visit was short, intensive and very matter-of-fact and I bring very good news from Prague. After an exchange of appraisals, views and opinions we reached joint conclusions. Our philosophy of building security, a security system in Europe is identical.

This means, first of all, the best possible relations with the neighbors, good regional cooperation, construction of European security structures, intensive approach to NATO, and, fourthly, intensifying disarmament processes. There is a willingness for full cooperation with the Czech Republic along the road of participating in the Partnership for Peace initiative. We are not taking part in any race, but we are interested in joining the NATO structures as soon as possible, and it is our joint will for other states to follow us, because the fewer gray areas there are in Europe, the fuller this security is going to be. [end recording]

[Announcer] Before returning to Warsaw today Minister Kolodziejdzyk was received by Czech President Vaclav Havel.

Sejm Speaker Meets Slovak President

LD2601110494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0942 GMT 26 Jan 994

[Text] Warsaw, 26 January—Today, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy met with Slovak President Michal Kovac, who is visiting Poland.

"We talked about Poland's internal situation, issues related to privatization and important matters related to our bilateral relations," Kovac told journalists. He said that at a meeting in Otwock on Tuesday, Walesa and Speaker Oleksy put forward a proposal that the Polish-Slovakian border be opened. "This is a very serious idea, and I think that it is worth attention," Kovac emphasized. According to Oleksy the issue is a "noble idea of opening up both societies. Later the matter should be dealt with by the governments at their nearest joint meeting. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The need to develop cooperation in border areas, and to build infrastructure and a system of communications between Poland and Slovakia because "all this will bring us closer together," as Kovac said, were also discussed at the meeting. Oleksy announced that he was planning to go to Slovakia on a parliamentary visit in three weeks.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

First Round of Talks Concludes

AU2401125194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] The first round of official talks between Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu and Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, were held at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning.

The talks concluded a few minutes ago, our correspondent informed us, mentioning also that at his meeting with the media the Serbian guest assessed the meeting as a useful exchange of ideas. The two foreign ministers will hold a new round of talks this afternoon.

Upon arriving at the Bucharest North Railway Station this morning, Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic said to our correspondent Grigore Gherasim that by coming to Romania he feels as if he were coming home and that he hopes that this visit will lead to the mobilization of all the necessary forces and will thus put an end to the Yugoslav crisis and the sanctions connected with it.

As far as Romania's role in the current Balkan situation and in finding solutions to the problems in the former Yugoslavia are concerned, Mr. Jovanovic said that Romania is a neutral and objective country that has done everything possible to maintain the lasting friendship with the Serbian people in Yugoslavia.

On his way to Bucharest last night, the Yugoslav foreign minister stopped over in Timisoara and was received by Timisoara County Prefect Ioan Pastiu.

During the talks, the sides discussed the good relations between Romania and Yugoslavia and between Vojvodina and Timis County. Both sides also stressed the need to observe the UN embargo imposed on Yugoslavia and approached the issue regarding ways to revive the traditional economic, cultural, and other relations between the two regions in the future.

Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic also met with members of the leadership of the Union of Serbians and Carasovenes of Romania. On this occasion, the sides recalled the good understanding between Serbian ethnics and the Romanian majority population.

Aid, Sanctions Discussed

AU2401152494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Report by Dragoslav Markovic from Bucharest]

[Text] At its request, Romania has just received from the UN Special Committee for Sanctions 60 permits for the delivery of food, medicines, and heating fuel for hospitals, schools, and childrens institutions in Yugoslavia. This was stated by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu after the first round of talks with Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic. The main topics of today's talks between the Yugoslav and Romanian foreign ministers were bilateral relations, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, ways to settle the conflict, and the situation on the Balkan peninsula.

Federal Minister Jovanovic briefed the Romanian foreign minister on the results of the recent talks in Brussels and Geneva. The two ministers stressed that the sanctions against Yugoslavia are becoming a big danger for peace and stability in the Balkans. Minister Jovanovic repeated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has met all the conditions of the European Union for the lifting of the sanctions, that it firmly supports the sides striving for peace in the region, and that it is now up to the West to fulfill its part of the obligations, namely to lift the sanctions that are detrimental to the region as a whole.

As has been learned, Ministers Jovanovic and Malescanu also discussed the problem of the increasing foreign military presence in the Balkans, the West's interference in the internal affairs of the countries in the region, and the influence of this policy on relations and stability on the peninsula.

Jovanovic Praises 'Unbiased Stance'

AU2401161094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] The first round of talks between Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign affairs minister for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, currently on a visit in Bucharest, and Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Teodor Melescanu concentrated on the crisis in Yugoslavia. They analyzed the latest evolutions within the Geneva peace process.

The FRY minister presented the recently concluded Serbian-Croatian accord, as well as the stances adopted by the conflict parties during the [Geneva] negotiations. According to our correspondent Doina Saiciuc, in Minister Jovanovic's opinion, the lifting of the sanctions imposed on FRY by the UN Security Council depends directly on the success of the process intended to politically settle the conflict.

Romania's foreign affairs minister reiterated our country's readiness to contribute to the political settlement of the conflict and presented the Romanian party's stance regarding the evolution of the conflict, as well as the reactions registered by the Romanian party in its international contacts related to the issue of a possible slackening of the embargo.

During today's talks, the Yugoslav minister also commented on the statement made during the Brussels NATO summit meeting on the possible air strikes by the North-Atlantic Alliance.

During the first round of talks, the ministers also discussed the two countries' relations with various states in the region, especially Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Hungary, and other states.

After the conclusion of the first round of talks, the FRY foreign affairs minister made a statement to the press appreciating the role played by Romania in the development of relations in the region and noting that Romania has an unbiased stance in the Balkans, a region in which Romania has a say. We have to turn the Balkans into a region of cooperation and peace, which is also our wish, Yugoslavia's wish, Jovanovic stated, among other things.

A second round of talks was held this afternoon by the two foreign affairs ministers. They tackled the plan for stability in Europe—the Balladur plan—and the Partnership for Peace, our correspondent Doina Saiciuc reports.

'Comprehensive' Talks Detailed

LD2401181094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu said in Bucharest today that Romania had just received 60 permits from the UN Sanctions Committee for deliveries of food, medicines, and fuel for hospitals, schools and children's institutions in Yugoslavia. The Romanian foreign minister briefed domestic and foreign journalists about this after the first round of talks with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, who this morning arrived on a two-day official visit to Romania.

The Yugoslav foreign minister said after the talks at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Yugoslav-Romanian talks today were "among the most open, most frank and most comprehensive" talks in which he had taken part. Minister Jovanovic said today they had discussed numerous questions in the field of bilateral relations and their preservation in the "difficult times of sanctions and restrictions imposed on both countries".

They also discussed a draft agreement on bilateral economic cooperation which is to be signed shortly and will come into effect as soon as sanctions against Yugoslavia are lifted, Jovanovic said.

The talks between the two foreign ministers again focused on the increasing danger of the sanctions against Yugoslavia becoming a destabilizing factor and a threat to peace in the entire region. It was stressed at the same time that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had fulfilled all European Union's conditions for the lifting of sanctions and that "it was Europe's turn now to fulfill its part of the obligations - to lift the embargo".

The problem of increasing foreign interference, in particular military interference, in the Balkan countries was also discussed as well as the growing danger that this might cause a deterioration in the relations among the countries in this region of Europe.

Today in Bucharest, Yugoslavia and Romania reiterated their readiness and interest in the continuing and developing cooperation "between the two friendly neighboring peoples and the two countries whose relations have for centuries experienced not a single confrontation or problem". Romania expressed its readiness to, within its modest abilities, contribute towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Iliescu, Jovanovic Discuss Bosnia

AU2501120994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Romanian President Ion Iliescu this morning received Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

After the meeting, the head of Yugoslav diplomacy said that he had discussed with the Romanian president the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the situation in the Balkans and Europe, and the obstacles encountered by the Geneva peace process. Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic also stressed the danger posed by the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia and expressed the opinion that the sanctions represent an enemy to the path of peace and a destabilizing element that affects not only Yugoslavia but the whole region.

The meeting was attended by the Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu and Presidential Counselor Traian Chebeleu.

Jovanovic on 'Useful' Talks, Sanctions

AU2501132394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1125 GMT 25 Jan

["Exclusive statement to the Romanian Radio network" by Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, after his meeting with Romanian President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest on 25 January—recorded, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation into Romanian]

[Text] I have had great pleasure in holding talks with President Iliescu and discussing in detail the situation connected with the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the efforts that our country is making to solve the other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis.

Similarly, we also discussed the most important aspects of our bilateral relations and we noticed that there is the highest degree of agreement, not only on the positive assessment of the development of our relations but also on the need that this development should continue in a more dynamic manner in all areas, immediately after the lifting of the sanctions.

We also discussed the situation in the Balkans and in Europe and we noticed that we have identical views regarding the need to find solutions to all problems through peaceful and political means. Our discussions focused in particular on the obstacles encountered by the

peace process in Geneva and the sanctions that have become an enemy of peace and a destabilizing factor not only in Yugoslavia but also in the whole region.

The president has reasserted Romania's principled position on the importance of the Geneva process in connection with Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the problem of sanctions, whose implementation Romania never advocated and never supported. We have agreed that there are increasingly numbers of countries that are aware that these sanctions are inhuman and very harmful.

We reached the conclusion that it would be very important and useful if the international community spoke out even more forcefully against the sanctions, because by opposing the sanctions we are doing the most for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We consider these talks as very useful and important. What is traditional and durable in our relations has been proved now. New possibilities have opened up to ensure cooperation, to make efforts to reestablish peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to lift the sanctions, to find solutions to the other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis, to reestablish a new regional cooperation on healthy foundations, which would take concrete shape in the progress of integration in Europe.

We also agreed that we must continue to have contacts and consultations at all levels and we agreed on the need that all legal documents should be prepared and actions taken for bilateral cooperation, which would become effective immediately after the lifting of the sanctions.

Romania also announced that UNICEF is prepared to grant humanitarian support to children in Yugoslavia, an act viewed by us as fresh proof of the position of Romanians, of the Romanian people, and the Romanian state toward Yugoslavia.

This is the result of efforts made by Romania to force the Sanctions Committee to work better and to work even in this bunker of negative attitudes toward Yugoslavia by the Sanctions Committee, and to make things progress, because we cannot ignore the issue of Yugoslavia's existence and that sanctions have exceeded all reasonable proportions and have already become a means to exterminate a whole nation.

Jovanovic on 'Similarity' of Views

AU2501171594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 94

["Special interview for Belgrade Radio First Program" with Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Jelena Radovanov in Bucharest on 25 January—recorded]

[Text] [Jovanovic] The meetings we have had here in Romania, both in Timisoara and particularly here in Bucharest, have shown that there are no essential differences between us and Romania in our views on the development of the Yugoslav crisis, the sanctions, and development in our region in general.

It has been confirmed that our policy of peace has been very well received and interpreted in this country and that all obstacles to this policy have been met with disapproval here in Romania. In this respect, the sanctions are the greatest obstacle to peace and our Romanian counterparts have completely accepted such an assessment and they are opposing further continuation of sanctions as something that is not only inhuman, but also absurd and harmful both for the prospects of peace and for the stability and prosperity of the region. In the sphere of bilateral relations, we assessed them as developing constantly within the limits of the given circumstances and that the two sides are successfully realizing the agreements agreed during the recent visit by Prime Minister Kontic. This means that various international agreements are being very dynamically prepared which should enable the two countries to take advantage of the first moment sanctions are lifted for a quick [word indistinct] and developing cooperation in all spheres.

[Radovanov] You have just returned from the meeting with Romanian President Ion Iliescu. Please tell us briefly how you assess the meeting.

[Jovanovic] This meeting, as with all past meetings with Romanian partners and statesmen, passed in a very pleasant and friendly atmosphere. We had a casual conversation that abounded in useful information and was at the same time strongly characterized by a very great similarity, if not even matching views on the essential directions of the development of our region, particularly the basic problems connected with solving the crisis in Bosnia- Herzegovina, as well as other aspects of the Yugoslav crisis. In this respect we may continue to count on Romania as a stable Balkan country whose policy of objectivity and impartiality can only help bring back stability to our region.

Iliescu Comments on NATO, Ties With Ukraine

WS2101164994 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 15 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Larisa Zhalovaga in Bucharest; date not given: "The Only Approach for a Realistic Politician Is To Recognize the Present Borders"]

[Excerpts] [Zhalovaga] Ukraine understands the desire of your country to become a member of a unified Europe. Moreover, we have the same aspirations. However, I would like to ask if you are satisfied with relations with your neighbors, in particular with Ukraine?

[Iliescu] I think that all European countries want to enter the European Union, which can be explained as a new stage in the development of international relations. The former status quo—Europe's division into two parts,

with two hostile military blocs—has changed. All European countries seek now to create a new climate encouraging integration into a new community. Of course, this doesn't rule out good relations among neighbors. Our foreign policies are oriented toward developing rapport with all European countries, and with Ukraine in particular. We have experienced similar difficulties in transforming our countries. I believe establishing good-neighborly relations would be in our mutual interest.

[Zhalovaga] I heard you were planning a visit to Kiev. When will it occur?

[Iliescu] In the first half of 1994, I guess.

[Zhalovaga] Is there any work being conducted to craft a bilateral agreement? If so, how soon will it be signed? If not, what stands in its way? What obstacles prevent Ukraine and Romania from having the most comprehensive relations?

[Iliescu] Our foreign ministry is currently assembling a political declaration to be signed by both presidents. I think that following the incorporation of all corrections on the part of both sides, we could sign it in the first half of 1994. This would be a good political signal for all-around relations between us. That's the only way it could be.

Of course, different issues exist between our countries, too. We received a complicated heritage from the history connected with territories and borders. We have a realistic approach to those problems. We are perfectly aware of the new reality that has taken shape on the European continent and between our countries. Based on this reality, we have to find political solutions to those issues to create good-neighborly relations.

[Zhalovaga] In Ukraine, you are seen as a man with evolutionary convictions. You are a man of consensus. However, I understand that a politician of your caliber must see the whole political spectrum, which contains different colors. In this connection, it is very important that you disperse all doubts existing in Ukraine. I am talking about an issue that perhaps put a break in the bilateral agreement between Romania and Ukraine. This is the issue of territories and recognition of the present borders.

[Iliescu] One should handle this issue in a complex manner. I think of myself as a revolutionary and a realistic politician. I was in the mainstream of all events that led up to the Romanian revolution. Compared to other countries, it was the most violent event. It was a revolutionary jump in the life of Romanian society. We now have to set up new structures and human relations to promote a democratic climate in the political and social life, and in the restructuring of the economy.

So I agree with you that one should have an open-minded attitude to all political and social forces, which is what I am trying to do in my activities. This is also important for our international relations.

[Zhalovaga] What is your attitude toward your most staunch and radical opponents? How do you handle them?

[Iliescu] We try to resolve all issues first of all through dialog. There are people maintaining that the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was an undemocratic and illegal document, and that one should introduce a law for all states and people based on the historical background...

[Zhalovaga] The policies proposed by radicals are very dangerous.

[Iliescu] Yes. This is why I say that we should take into consideration reality in its entirety. Otherwise, the whole situation in Europe will go topsy-turvy. After all, every country has similar problems. We understand Ukraine. Such grievances may be raised by Slovaks, Poles, Russians, etc.

[Zhalovaga] It's like opening a can of worms.

[Iliescu] ...And what if Germany brings up the issue of Koenigsberg that became Kaliningrad?! Trying to solve all such issues might take forever. This is why I think the only approach for a realistic politician is to recognize the present borders between states.

[Zhalovaga] What do you think about elections in Russia?

[Iliescu] The adoption of the Constitution is a positive fact. However, there are also alarming aspects. Zhirinovskiy and other extremist forces reminded the international community about the threat of imperial ambitions. We are closely watching developments, and we hope that democratic forces will overcome their problems. [passage omitted]

[Zhalovaga] How do you think the vacuum of security that arouse after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact should be filled? How will Romania ensure its security? Are you planning to join NATO? What is your attitude toward President Kravchuk's initiative to extend a security zone in Central and East Europe?

[Iliescu] I think that the security issue is not so much a military but a political issue, that is, we should react to changes in political links that were brought about on the European continent. This is why we have actively joined the movement of security and cooperation in Europe [as published], and view this organization as an important political instrument capable of expanding relations between all our countries. At the same time, we keep in focus the already existing organizations—such as NATO, for instance—that should radically change their substance.

It is being widely debated as to who should be admitted to NATO, and who should not... We are against discrimination on this issue. There should be a common approach to states intending to become the bloc's members. We view Kravchuk's initiative as an opportunity to establish broader links among European states in the

sphere of security, which will also include Russia and the West to prevent any strains.

[Zhalovaga] Ukraine and Romania have another common problem—sanctions against neighboring Yugoslavia. What compensation do you think the international community could provide to countries that incurred losses?

[Iliescu] We do not harbor particular hopes for any kind of compensation. Of course, we brought up this issue in various committees and the Security Council as well. But I don't believe in progress here. The most important issue is to resolve the Yugoslav problem, and do it by political means. This depends first of all on forces inside Yugoslavia itself and their ability to reach a consensus. This would revoke sanctions against them. Everyone is suffering from this, including us, their neighbors. I don't think anyone can gain from this.

[Zhalovaga] Why do you think all efforts undertaken by the West to settle the Yugoslav conflict proved good for nothing?

[Iliescu] It is very easy to fan a conflict, but difficult to extinguish it. International organizations must approach Yugoslav internal problems with a lot of understanding. [passage omitted]

Iliescu Criticized for Hindering Reform

AU2301212394 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Jan 94 p 1

[Editorial by Petre Mihai Bacanu: "Nuances"]

[Text] After the lesson of the friendship treaty signed with Moscow, Iliescu hopefully realized that Romania's place is next to the West and there is nothing more adequate for the defense of the country than NATO with its anteroom, the "Partnership for Peace." During his talks with special U.S. Envoy Madeleine Albright, one could see very well that Iliescu ceased to insist on the country's rapid access to NATO. He must have realized, from the results of the latest IRSOP [Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Polling] polls, how popular the U.S. and its President are among Romanians [highest popularity]. Iliescu must have also realized that his popularity would have dropped to the minimum had he even indulged in the slightest criticism regarding the NATO decision. While he was talking to the U.S. envoy, admitting that the decision was the "wisest one" as it ensured equal security for all [Eastern] European states, one could even discern a touch of fear in his voice, as if he had been facing an "iron lady." However, Romania's president did not utter a single word pledging that real democracy would be introduced, as requested by the "Partnership." Instead of that, Iliescu insisted on the "new concept" of "economic partnership." Iliescu has not comprehended that one of the priorities set by the "Partnership for Peace" is the establishment of market economy. And this also means—whether he wants it or not—economic partnership. However, the way in which Iliescu raised that issue is very similar to the concept of the "new world economic order," Nicolae Ceausescu used to be so proud of.

In my opinion, the U.S. "Partnership for Peace" project is a success, despite the fact that it was criticized for not offering sufficient protection against the primitive nationalism in Russia and despite the fact that it might have disappointed and made skeptical those who had expected to join NATO directly. The plan aims firstly to achieve stability in Europe and secondly to integrate the Eastern European countries within NATO.

Considering that the "Partnership" consists, above all, of military cooperation, what will Iliescu do with the extremists in the parliamentary majority who were annoyed because they were not consulted, who claimed that "secret games" are being played, and who then launched an all-out attack against [Defense Minister] General Niculae Spiroiu, that is, against the Army, just at the moment when it had really achieved international acknowledgment? Our extremists actually express the views of the conservative factions in the armed forces, those who feel attracted to Moscow. As a matter of fact, Spiroiu's statement on the "Partnership" was the most realistic and nuanced of all. He considers it to be a step made toward the country's final integration within NATO structures. Spiroiu had pondered the situation well, and concluded that one has to be careful not to hurt Russia's feeling of security.

Another good thing is that the Americans have learned where Romania is situated, as well as a few other things about us. In a Gallup poll conducted in the United States regarding the states that should be accepted into NATO, Romania ranked fourth after Poland, Hungary, and Russia. Unfortunately, our current rulers have developed the habit of rushing to sign every possible accord, after which they immediately lose interest in their implementation. Iliescu believes that, merely by paying so much homage to Ambassador Madeleine Albright, he will manage to tame the coming blizzard. However, the ambassador clearly pointed out what the "Partnership" means: democracy and market economy.

The problem is that at home Iliescu does not do enough to boost reform and protects a government that is continuously putting obstacles in its own way. While the United States requests that we should step on it, our leaders are doing the best they can to halt reform, because they know that the minute they do not have the economy under their control, they are lost. The economy would function all by itself and no one would have to crawl "up there" to obtain anyone's approval.

Our foreign policy is bound to be gravely affected by the failure of our domestic policy. While Cotroceni [presidential palace] is trying to gain time by holding out the carrot of a political and social pact and consensus, hoping that the winter will soon end, the restoration of old structures is gaining momentum, the government is allowed to issue ordinances, anything it wishes, allegedly

to implement the stipulations of the memorandum [signed with the International Monetary Fund], and the opposition is expected to stop criticizing and start applauding them, the way the left-wing parliamentarians do.

Iliescu obviously does not wish to change the current political situation, he even continues to rely on the extremists. Regardless of how deep the crisis, he is not prepared to give up on them, as he is not prepared to give up the reins of power either, although he knows that a reshuffle of the political spectrum would be beneficial for the country. He will not be able to keep his [electoral] promises either. How does he expect to have 2,000 companies privatized in 1994, considering that over the past four years they merely managed to privatize 200? Iliescu eulogizes private property, but he does not do a thing to further it. This is because he has not lost his habit of saying one thing and doing something different.

Iliescu's talks with the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] did not seem historic to me. It was a mere waste of time. Some of his partners, who claim five portfolios [reference to the National Romanian Unity Party], were also deceived by his maneuver. Let him make cat's-paws out of them. He has still not comprehended that he cannot go on defending the Vacaroiu government forever, that eventually the electorate will realize that the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] and the government are actually identical, and that the responsibility for the current crisis, although they try to hide it, ultimately lies with the political party set up by the president itself [PDSR]. And it is a fact that the change the electorate is craving can in no way be brought about by the nationalist-communists.

Melescanu on Kozyrev Statement, NATO Proposal

AU2501170594 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Jan 94 p 1

[Interview with Teodor Melescanu, minister of foreign affairs and minister of state, by Dumitru Tinu; place and date not given: "Kozyrev's Provocation"]

[Text] [Tinu] Mr. Minister, what was your reaction to [Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey] Kozyrev's defiant statement, indicating Russia's intent to maintain its troops on the territory of the former Soviet republics?

[Melescanu] First I would like to point out that there is a certain confusion surrounding that statement. You probably know that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation has denied those assertions. Anyway, we are examining all those aspects, in their entire complexity, with maximum attention, and we will not adopt a stance before it is clear what Minister Kozyrev really stated about that issue, which, I repeat, has a particular strategic and political importance for Romania, as well as for security and stability in our region and, generally, in Europe.

[Tinu] Do you think that those claims are part of a U.S.-Russian agreement intended to reestablish the old spheres of influence?

[Melescanu] The prompt and firm reaction of the U.S. State Department, which requested in most unequivocal terms that those contradictory statements should be immediately cleared up, is nothing else but a way of expressing the fact that they deny such speculations. One can also add basic elements to that as well, namely the fact that the representatives of the U.S. Administration, including during President Clinton's European tour, have made clear statements and acted unequivocally against the reestablishment of such spheres. Of course, that does not mean that such nostalgic wishes, which I would term as "imperial," have not existed and will not continue to exist in our region.

[Tinu] What are the consequences of such a [Russian] policy for the Republic of Moldova, where the 14th [Russian] Army does not want to give up its status as an occupation force anyway?

[Melescanu] Beyond the controversy generated by Mr. Kozyrev, the issue of the presence and pullout of the 14th Army from the territory of the Republic of Moldova continues to represent the key element of the process of strengthening Moldova's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

The recent statements made by [Moldova's] interim Foreign Minister Botnaru following his latest talks in Moscow on the pullout of the Russian forces, confirmed, unfortunately, that a relative impasse persists in the negotiations held on that issue by the two parties, with all its negative influences on the developments in the area.

[Tinu] To what extent will the pledges assumed by NATO in the Partnership for Peace remain valid for us East European countries if the North Atlantic alliance accepts that the old spheres of influence should be reestablished?

[Melescanu] The offer made by NATO to all former member states of the Warsaw Treaty by means of the Partnership for Peace represents the solution found by the Alliance precisely to avoid the reestablishment of such spheres. In that sense, the Partnership is doubly advantageous: First, because it creates favorable circumstances for all the countries that wish to join NATO to more rapidly approach and become homogeneous with that body, and second, because it also offers chances of finding a cooperation formula with the Russian Federation. That formula could eventually lead to the alteration of the way in which NATO and its expansion in the East is currently being seen by certain Russian political and military circles and by Russian public opinion. That is the sole approach to the problem that could discourage imperial tendencies and attempts to redesign the spheres of influence in Europe, and that also creates political and strategic prerequisites needed for the adherence of new members, including Romania, to NATO.

PUNR Leader Not To Have Ministerial Position

AU2501105994 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 20 Jan 94 p 8

[Article by Cristina Dana Sofronie: "PUNR Announces a Bi-Color Government for Next Week"]

[Text] In view of the fact that the establishment of a new the Romanian Government team can be expected very soon, the PDAR [Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania] news conference opened in the presence of the... PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party], represented by party president Gheorghe Funar and vice president Cornel Brahas! The PUNR leader wished to assure us that, regarding the negotiations held between his political group and the majority party, that is the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], the new government will become a bicolor one. That is why the PUNR will sign a protocol with the PDSR next week. In any event, we can expect a hot week because, by next week at the latest, Prime Minister Vacaroiu will announce changes in the government team. Although all kind of "government schemes" have been published in the press, Gheorghe Funar refrained from naming the ministries that the PUNR officials wish to have. This is because of the understanding reached at the last meeting with the PDSR. In any event, he was not intimidated by the meeting with the PDSR representatives and continued to demand three candidates for each ministry. Moreover, the PUNR will not only ask for ministerial positions but also for secretary of state positions: "Because in the provinces the representation of our party is proportional with the results of the 1992 elections and we will cooperate with the PDSR not only at central level but also in the provinces" Mr. Funar said. Having been assured that in the future, there will be the same cooperation with the five parties that supported the Vacaroiu government, Mr. Funar hopes that those parties will support the reshuffled government team as well. "We do not believe there will be early elections soon. If, nevertheless, such a situation arises, we have much to gain, especially as far as the BUN [National Unity Block] is concerned. For the time being, we have decided to assume the responsibility of participating in the government, even under the difficult conditions that our country is currently facing."

Regarding rumors about his aspirations to receive a ministerial portfolio, Mr. Funar called this speculation and attacked certain Western countries and their embassies in Bucharest for the fact that they have objected to the PUNR's participation in government. "We are going to see to it that, with our candidates, we do not give grist to the mill of those abroad who believe that it is not appropriate that the PUNR should participate in government. I do not want any position in the new government team." Regarding rumors about a "Salagean group" within the PUNR, Mr. Funar denied them and said that "unity prevails in our party, but, in accordance with our statute, we are entitled to contradictory opinions. We will support Mr. Salagean's candidacy for a ministerial position. He is one of our major candidates for the position of minister of privatization. Regarding certain undesirable statements he made in the press, we will meet with him and discuss the matter." As far as the BUN is concerned, Mr. Cornel Brahas assured us that the request of Mircea Druc's National Reintegration Party will be discussed soon, and the an alliance will most probably be signed at the 24 January celebrations in Focsani [on the anniversary of the 1859 union of Wallachia with Moldavia]. It seems to us that a long, hot week can be expected....

Spiroiu Refutes PRM Leader's Attacks

AU2401212994 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Jan 94 pp 1, 2

["Open Letter Addressed to the Senate by the Minister of National Defense on the Attitude of the President of the Greater Romania Party" on 18 January]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President:

I feel obliged to employ this medium to inform you that—in his ROMANIA MARE weekly of 14 January 1994—Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor [president of the Greater Romania Party—PRM] published a number of very slanderous and libelous statements about me in my capacity as minister of national defense.

Unfortunately, such press attacks are not something new or original, given the fact that our basic law protects the right to free opinion, while the Army, through its mission of guarantor of the constitutional democracy, is in the paradoxical situation of having to defend the right of individuals to revile it. I have never meant to answer direct accusations and slurs against my person, since I am aware of the fact that the minister of national defense is a member of the government—hence part of one of the separate powers in the state and as such subject to the political will of the civilian society—and in a position that will be more closely linked to the political coloring of the executive branch in the future.

However, since Corneliu Vadim Tudor is signing his article in his capacity as "Bucharest senator," I feel obliged to point out the particularly serious nature of his attitude, since it also directly affects Romania's Parliament.

The article claims, among other things: "Through blackmail and mysterious maneuvering, he managed to be the only minister in Romania's history to stay put in his post through three governments—the Roman, Stolojan, and Vacaroiu cabinets." I would like to remind you, esteemed Mr. President, that my appointment to the position of minister for the duration of three governments was validated by an equal number of votes in the joint plenary sessions of Parliament. Moreover, allow me to believe that this consistency, which can be interpreted as a confirmation of the sound stability of the military institution, can also be taken as evidence of my correctness and professionalism. However, I was always aware

of the fact that, due to the persistence of a parasite mentality, the neutrality and equidistance of the ministry I am running will make some enemies. To these arguments, I would like to add the estimations made by the Parliament's Auditing Commission after the latest elections, of which I am sure you are aware.

Consequently I believe that Corneliu Vadim Tudor's statements are casting a false and damaging shadow on the probity and professionalism of the country's parliament!

Another very alarming aspect is the fact that the accusations brought against me in my capacity as minister of defense create a false and dangerous picture of the state of our national defense system, since he claims that the Army is led by a man who is carrying out an "anti-Romanian, reactionary, and right-wing policy," a man who is "deliberately destroying the defense industry" and who "has destroyed a lot of tanks, while Hungary is arming itself to the teeth," and a man who is nothing but the successor of Mr. Stanculescu [former minister of national defense], since he was part of the "Soviet plot against Nicolae Ceausescu."

I consider these statements aberrant and the result of an unconstitutional political vision not worthy of a Romanian senator. Regarding the other accusations, strictly of a journalistic nature, I would like to state honestly that, beyond their ridiculousness, they are unworthy of any kind of response, as it would beneath my dignity as an officer and state dignitary to treat them with anything else but disregard.

Recalling that the minister of national defense is bound to each Army man by a direct link in which the prestige and authority of the commander are essential values on which the Army's internal cohesion rest, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the senator's accusations are capable of affecting the trust of my subordinates, both in the person who tomorrow might find itself in a position to order them to proceed to the country's defense at the cost of their lives and in the basic institutions of the state, capable of resorting to "blackmail and mysterious maneuvering" just to promote a "traitor" (that is how the previous issue of ROMANIA MARE magazine irresponsibly put it).

Since I am not adept at legal confrontations among dignitaries of the same state, particularly in a sphere in which the senator is not familiar, I respectfully beg you, Mr. President, to submit this affair to the attention of the Legal Commission of Appointments, Discipline, Immunity, and Validation of the Romanian Senate, so that it can pronounce a judgment on the compatibility of statements aired by Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor in ROMANIA MARE, with his position and dignity as senator.

Government Signs Economic Accord With Croatia

AU2501180494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Text] An accord on economic cooperation between the Government of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Croatia was signed today at the headquarters of the Romanian Ministry of Trade. On behalf of Croatia, the document was signed by Nadan Vidosevic, minister of economy, who is currently visiting Romania, and on behalf of Romania by Minister of Trade Cristian Ionescu. This accord establishes the bilateral legal framework that ensures the necessary conditions to develop and diversify commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, our correspondent Magdalena Zavoianu reports.

UN Observers To Visit Scene of Here Massacre

AU2501133094 Paris AFP in English 1314 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 25 (AFP)—UN observers were dispatched to the central Bosnian village of Here on Tuesday [25 January] to check on reports that Bosnian Croat troops had massacred the town's population, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Bill Aikman said.

He said the village, located near the town of Prozor, and the nearby region were shelled by the Croat defense forces, or HVO, Monday. The mainly Moslem Bosnian Army which controls the area reported that the HVO had also massacred the civilian population in Here.

Aikman said that 130 rocket missiles landed north of Prozor, near Gornji Vakuf, on Monday and that 35 shells hit the town of Jablanica, northeast of Prozor.

He said in other developments, UN bomb disposal experts were sent to the village of Bistro, between Gornji Vakuf and Vitez, Monday to try and resolve a mystery involving a 250-kilogram (550-pound) bomb discovered there.

Village residents said that the town had been pounded by a helicopter on Sunday around dawn. Aikman said that the unexploded bomb could have only been launched by an aircraft, probably a helicopter, and it was unclear who had dropped it as the village is located near HVO and Bosnian Serb positions.

As for the Bosnian capital, Aikman said that it was the most heavily shelled region Monday along with the southern enclave of Mostar. He said 160 shells fell on Sarajevo Monday.

Meanwhile in Geneva, UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokeswoman Christiane Berthiaume said looting of aid convoys in Bosnia-Herzegovina by hungry civilians was getting worse.

"It is a worrisome situation for the UNHCR," she said. "There were isolated incidents at first and now it tends to be more generalized."

She said unarmed civilians took about a dozen bags of flour Monday from a convoy traveling near Novi Travnik and that many of the convoys often have to call on the UNPROFOR in order to ensure safe passage.

Ganic Protests to Tudjman

AU2501155094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejub Ganic has written a letter to Croatian President Tudjman. The letter reads:

Precisely at a moment when we have done everything to establish a cease-fire in central Bosnia and elsewhere, the forces that consider you to be their supreme commander have once again launched an offensive. These forces yesterday committed a massacre of the population in the Prozor village of Here and intensified shelling of residential districts from a distance and in cooperation with Serbian forces. We are forced to defend ourselves. At the same time, we support all peace initiatives and we participate in them. However, Mr. President, we will never allow the territory of the sovereign and internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina to be used in support of any kind of greater state [velikodrzavne] agreements. In this we rely on our own resources and the support of those who oppose aggression against our country, reads Ejub Ganic's letter addressed to Franjo Tudjman.

Bosnian Croats Deny Massacre

LD2501191694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] In reference to the statement released by the 6th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army carried by Sarajevo Radio, and cited by a number of news agencies, according to which units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] had committed a massacre of 25 Muslim civilians in the village of Here east of Prozor in the course of yesterday's [24 January] fighting, the Political Department of the Defense Ministry of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna issued a statement this evening. The statement asserts that the information on the alleged massacre was pure fabrication.

The statement says that no civilians have been living in Here—a major Muslim Army stronghold—for nearly a year now. The civilians had all moved to [Muslim-held] Konjic and Jablanica because of the proximity of the separation line, and their homes were taken over by members of the Muslim Army. The village of Here has become an important Muslim military foothold from which many combat activities against the HVO and unarmed civilians were being carried out, the statement says.

Compelled to respond to yesterday's Muslim offensive, HVO members entered the village of Here but did not encounter any Muslim civilians, only Muslim troops that had adapted all civilian objects for military purposes, claims the statement released by the political Department of the Defense Ministry of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna. [passage omitted]

Roundup of Regional Fighting, Attacks

Five Killed in Tuzla

AU2501195094

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 25 January reports combat activities in the following parts of the republic:

"Five dead and the same number of seriously and lightly injured people is the tragic outcome of today's latest crime that the Majevica chetniks have committed by shelling Tuzla," correspondent Salih Brkic reports. As he says, three among the deceased were children. "The first attack took place at 1440 [1340 GMT] and 40 minutes later the chetnik hordes in Majevica again struck at the Tuzla town center with a tank from the region of Ploce. As the Information Center in Tuzla reports, all injured people were treated immediately in Tuzla medical center. Surgery on two seriously injured people is underway."

The correspondent from Gornji Vakuf, Agif Agic, says that "the situation is explosive today in the village of (?Privor) near Gornji Vakuf. The ustashas are selectively destroying the residential installations in (?Boljice) and [word indistinct]. All lines held by the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in the zone of responsibility of the Privor Tactical Group from the Operative Group West have been attacked by the Croatian Army elite troops. They are using armored personnel carriers, tanks, heavy arms, and naturally the helicopter [word indistinct]. The ustashas are counting upon these parts being cut off by snow over 70 cm deep." As Agic further reports "by taking the village of Hera they have caused great indignation among all residents of the upper Vrbas area. An additional mobilization of the Army forces has been carried out in the zone of responsibility of the Operative Group West, but believe me, it was voluntarily this time. As they say, Bosnia must not fall." Correspondent then says that "the Army forces have completely consolidated their ranks and the forces of the (?6th) and the 3d Corps, that is the units of the Operative Group West, to be precise, are succeeding in holding back the assault by the Croatian Army." At the end, Agic reports that "the battles are being fought at the elevations exceeding 1,000 m above sea level, where there is 70 cm of snow, while the night temperatures fall below - 12 degrees centigrade."

The Information Service of the 4th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that "even today, the united aggressor—the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Croatian Army—has been attacking the separating lines and civilian buildings in the zone of responsibility of the 4th Corps with unabated ferocity. The ustashas used all available arms, ranging from tanks and howitzers to recoilless guns and mortars. The enemy's targets were the Mostar quarters of Zalik, [word indistinct] Brankova, [word indistinct] as well as others, where more than 60 of various projectiles have been fired." As it is also reported "(?19) civilians have been injured in the latest criminal shelling. All separating lines remain unchanged."

Zepce, Bistrica, Busovaca Attacked

AU2601100194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 94

[Unattributed report from the Press Center of the 3d Army Corps]

[Excerpts] On the battlefields of the 3d Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, between Gornji Vakuf and Zavidovici, neither the chetniks nor ustashas have stopped attacks on the defense lines of the free territories. The defense positions of our units were attacked by both aggressors with all available artillery, infantry, and antiaircraft weapons. The enemy did not carry out any infantry attacks, except on the Zepce area.

The ustashas from Gornji Vakuf and the aggressor Croatian Army fired guns, tanks, howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, infantry weapons, and snipers. The village of Bistrica was subjected to the fiercest attack. The attack started at about 1300 [1200 GMT] yesterday, and is still going on. However, the defense lines of the Gornji Vakuf heroes remain impenetrable. [passage omitted]

Flights of the enemy aircraft above the Busovaca-Vitez area are commonplace. Yesterday, an ustasha helicopter landed in Busovaca. The ustashas from Zepce are increasingly amassing in the Golo Brdo region. They are trying to capture this important elevation. Fifteen ustashas paid for this with their lives yesterday. [passage omitted]

Maglaj 'in Ruins'

AU2601104194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 94

[Report by Hajrudin Ceric from the Maglaj Press Center]

[Excerpts] The fighting on the Maglaj front continued with the same intensity this morning. The chetnik-ustasha forces, reinforced with troops from [name indistinct] and Krajina, as well as the so-called Uskoci ustasha units, are attacking the positions of the 201st Brcko Knights Brigade on the southern part of the Maglaj defense lines, attempting to recapture the positions they lost. Howitzers, tanks, mortars, and antiaircraft guns are continually pounding the defense lines, but the heroes of the Maglaj defense are resisting all attacks. [passage omitted]

They also fired two Volkov S-65 missiles. Maglaj is in ruins. In the last 24 hours, one civilian was killed and two wounded. We remind the world public, the UNHCR, and International Red Cross that the humanitarian situation is dramatic and that there is no food and medicine. Two more people died of hunger recently.

Serbs Reinforcing Brcko Front

AU2601110094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 94

[Report by Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Salihovic from Brcko]

[Excerpt] The Serbian aggressor is preparing even fiercer attacks on the free territory of Brcko. The strong forces that are already amassed on the Brcko front are being reinforced even more. Columns of chetnik combat and

transportation vehicles are arriving from the direction of Raznjevo and Potocari. The enemy is intensively using aircraft to bring fresh forces and deadly weapons. The aircraft are also very active on the fronts themselves. At about 1900 [1800 GMT] last night, an enemy helicopter took off from the Brcko area and left in the direction of the aggressor's front lines at Brod.

At 0430 this morning, the chetnik helicopter that came from the direction of the occupied parts of Brcko, landed at a farm near the [word indistinct] sector of the Brcko front. [passage omitted]

HVO Preparing Attack in Vakuf Area

AU2601120094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 94

[Report by Atif Agic]

[Excerpts] The Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts have not been quiet again today. The situation is particularly serious in the Gornji Vakuf region, where ustashas are preparing a fierce offensive. Atif Agic reports:

[Agic] The Croatian offensive known as All or Nothing is indeed more bloodthirsty than any previous offensive. After taking the village of Here, they carried out a general attack on the village of (?Privora) near Gornji Vakuf, where 4,000 Bosniaks are completely surrounded. On the one side is deep snow, on the other the military machine of the neighboring, fascist state of Croatia. The situation in the village of (?Privora) is very serious. Defending the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 25 fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina lost their lives. Dozens of them have been wounded seriously. [passage omitted]

This is an unprecedented operation by the Croatian Army led by the murderers from Zagreb, who are skillfully dressing as peacemakers during the negotiations in European casinos. As I end this report, the fighting is still going on throughout the Gornji Vakuf commune. Fresh Croatian forces have been noticed arriving in the town center, Crnomaca, and (?Ploca). There are now over 12,000 soldiers on the territory of the Gornji Vakuf and Prozor communes.

Serbs Attack HVO in Usora

LD2501144294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Today there is still no peace at the front line in the vicinity of the free Croat community of Usora [Bosnian Croat enclave north of Maglaj]. [passage omitted] Despite frost, deep snow and sub-zero temperature, early this morning the Serbs launched an attack on the Croat enclave of Usora, which has been encircled for 10 months, the political department of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] 110th Brigade reports. The main thrust of the attack has been directed against the Ercezi-Kriz-Komin part of the front again. Despite casualties on their side, Serbian combined tank and infantry units are trying to break through the Usora defense lines. The defenders are repelling the attacks with superhuman efforts, defending their homes. According to the same source, two HVO soldiers were wounded and one of them is in critical condition.

Muslims Attack HVO Near Mostar

LD2401133994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Jan 94

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At around 0730 this morning the Muslim Army launched a fierce attack from several directions against HVO [Croatian Defense Council] positions on the Uskoplje-Rama front. According to the Political Department of Herceg-Bosna's Defense Ministry, the attacks have been very intense but HVO units have been repelling them successfully.

Large movements by the Muslim Army have been in evidence in the Misir area northeast of Prozor. [passage omitted]

'Hell' in Mostar

AU2601094494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Jan 94

[Unattributed report from the Information Center of the 4th Army Corps]

[Excerpts] The free part of the Mostar commune has experienced a real hell in the last 24 hours, because ustashas (?pounded) the densely populated parts of the town with all available shells of the highest caliber from a long distance in a cowardly way. In addition, the enemy fired hundreds of shells from tanks, howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, guns, and mortars. These landed on almost all parts of the free section of Mostar commune. Such raging artillery from a long distance illustrates best that the ustashas have opted for the tactics of shelling civilian areas that are far away from the line of separation in order to break the incredible morale and will to survive of the population of free Mostar. [passage omitted]

Early this morning, the enemy continued shelling. It shelled the areas of Vracici and Potok in the northern part of Mostar commune. The enemy used tanks and mortars. [passage omitted]

As a consequence of ustasha shelling, nine of our fellow citizens were wounded yesterday. Among them are several children. All lines of separation in the zone of responsibility of the 4th Corps have remained unchanged. The fighters' morale is high.

Appeal to Rose for Stari Vitez Humanitarian Aid

AU2501204994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] In the light of the highly dramatic humanitarian situation in Stari Vitez, Fuad Djilic, minister-coordinator for the Zenica-Doboj region in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, issued an open letter to General Michael Rose, newly appointed commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The letter, among other things, says:

The 103,000 Bosniak civilians in Stari Vitez have been surrounded by the Croatian Defense Council troops for nine months now. Over a territory of less than two square kilometers approximately 100 people so far, mostly civilians, have been killed by snipers and explosive devices of enormous destructive power, while sick and gravely injured people have been denied any form of medical evacuation. Because of this, several injured people have died.

The height of the tragedy is defined by the death of almost all newborn babies who were not given timely, appropriate medical assistance and care, even though their suffering occurred literally only a few hundred steps away from the English UNPROFOR Battalion.

Appealing to your humanity and military honor, I expect that with your arrival as chief commander of UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the suffering residents of Stari Vitez will finally be able realize their right to humanitarian and medical assistance, and protection, in the shortest possible time, states the letter written by Fuad Djilic, minister-coordinator for Zenica-Doboj region, to General Michael Rose.

Religious Leader Stresses Defense as 'Duty'

AU2501155294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Today the Naibu Reis of the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Mustafa Efendi Ceric, received Rasim Delic, commander of General Staff of Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic. They held long and open talks.

General Delic and Minister Alispahic acquainted the Naibu Reis with the current defense and security situation in the free territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and particularly stressed the Islamic Community's significant contribution to the joint struggle against injustice. The Naibu Reis reiterated the fact that the defense of the homeland was as much a religious duty as it was a patriotic one. He added that the Islamic Community would continue to contribute—in any way it could—to saving the Bosniak people from the genocide currently being carried out.

Valentic Discusses Talks With Slovenia

LD2501202294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Statement by Croatian Prime Minister Nikita Valentic on the Slovene-Croatian talks in Ljubljana on 25 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received a report from Ljubljana. The Slovene and Croatian delegations had talks this afternoon and discussed open questions on their bilateral relations. The borders, the Ljubljana bank, and the Krsko nuclear power station are significant problems, and no sensational results should be expected, it was said before the talks. Were any results or progress achieved during the talks?

[Unidentified correspondent] Although, judging by the statements [before the talks] by the Croatian and Slovene side, no concrete results were expected at the talks today in Ljubljana—the general opinion is that the talks, which ended just before the news broadcast, were still an important, qualitative step forward in resolving existing problems in the relations of the two countries.

[Valentic] I think that I can agree with Mr. Drnovsek [Slovene premier] that a significant step forward was achieved today in resolving objective existing problems.

In my opinion it is primarily important that both governments desire as good and as friendly relations between our two countries as possible. I can say now that I think that the problems are of an objective nature [as heard], they are normal occurrences in processes of disassociation, such as was in the case of our countries. Our states and our economies are complementary to such an extent that there is virtually no reason why we should not resolve all issues in the interest of both states and peoples.

We are talking here about 10 or so agreements that we have agreed on to a considerable extent, where we achieved significant steps forward, but with some nuances still unresolved, but I believe that we shall agree on them as well by 7 February in Zagreb.

It is important to sign all significant agreements, those in connection with property belonging to Slovene citizens and Slovene companies in Croatia, which we have never called into question, and those referring to the settlement of our debt, which is not a contentious issue. What is contentious are our overall relations when it comes to the Krsko [nuclear power plant], because our interests are absolutely mutual, from the technological point of view to the security of the plant.

We have to a considerable extent, almost completely, resolved the issue of a trade treaty, because we have to increase our trade cooperation because it is in the interest of both states. Regardless of the situation in which Croatia has found itself, we have been taking significant steps to revive our economy, hoping that we shall very soon be able to take a step further—to completely open our borders for trade, as these are principles of an open market.

Finally, we have agreed that our state commissions should begin examining borders at once, because we believe that this is something that cannot be postponed. Once again, I would like to express my personal conviction, and that of the Croatian Government, that we wish normalization when it comes not only to these open issues, but we also wish better relations as this is what I really deem as being very important for both states.

Granic Upbeat on Relations

LD2501235894 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic in Slovenia by an unidentified announcer in Zagreb; from the "Slikom na Sliku" program—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Our Foreign Minister Mate Granic is on the phone. Good evening.

[Granic] Good evening.

[Announcer] We were told that hot, topical issues were discussed. What was your impression of today's talks, will Croatian-Slovene relations finally begin registering an upward trend?

[Granic] The atmosphere was very good and I believe that an important step forward was made today. I am convinced that eight to 10 agreements will be ready for signing on 7 February, as agreed.

I am particularly convinced that considerable progress had been made regarding the resolution of the Krsko [Slovene nuclear power plant supplying electricity to Croatia] problem, the resolution of the problem concerning the agreement on property, and the agreement on the Ljubljana Bank. We presented our proposals in these cases and I believe that we now have a proximity of views. We will continue the talks and try to solve this problem—one of the major problems—by 7 February.

Agreements on cultural and educational cooperation, trade, regular air traffic, the water industry, employment, social security, long-term cooperation in the use of the Slovene transit gas pipeline, and fishing rights—all these are ready and should be concluded by 7 February.

[Announcer] Do the Slovenes reproach us in any way and why have there not been such top-level meetings in the past?

[Granic] I believe that conditions have now become ripe, that both sides have realized that to sign all these agreements would be extremely beneficial to both countries, and that compromise solutions must found in certain areas.

[Announcer] Slovenia has much better relations with its other neighbors than with Croatia, and we have heard

recently that they fear the Croats the most. What is the reason for this, and how do you think this will evolve in future?

[Granic] I believe that matters will begin moving in a different direction after the signing of these agreements on 7 February, and that one cannot expect only one side to make compromises. Anyway, most of the problems are a consequence of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, and these problems can only be resolved through compromise solutions.

[Announcer] Today, you also addressed the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Today, you took part in two important events. What happened in Strasbourg?

[Granic] In Strasbourg I had meetings with all officials of the Council of Europe, from Mrs. Lalumiere, the secretary general, Parliamentary Assembly President [Miguel Anjel] Martinez, to [Gerhard] Reddemann, the Political Affairs Committee president, and all other top officials including the special envoy for Croatia, Baron Finsberg.

I would like to tell you in a few sentences about the gist of all these meetings: As the main obstacle for the speedy admission of Croatia to the Council of Europe they singled out the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and obviously problems in connection with halting the war and reaching an agreement. I think this is the main obstacle, both when it comes to public opinion, Europe, and all the problems proceeding from there.

They positively assessed Croatia's efforts in the course of the latest meetings in Geneva and Brussels, but, in any case, they said an agreement between the Muslims and Croats was desirable.

On the other hand, I can also say that all positively assessed the beginning of normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the signing of the joint declaration as the first step in the normalization of the relations, and in this connection they expressed their support in very clear terms.

They had increasingly fewer remarks for the development of democracy in the Republic of Croatia, even though there were some remarks in connection with the media, to which I believe they received satisfactory replies.

[Announcer] I am sorry to interrupt you. Can you tell us in more detail what their concrete remarks to this were?

[Granic] They were concretely interested to know about the issue of Mr. Ivancic [FERAL TRIBUNE editor in chief who was called up on 31 December], for whom we said was mobilized as all other able-bodied men of his age. On the other hand, if we receive an application for compulsory work orders [for him], we will in every case support it, and he will be treated as all other press editors in the Republic of Croatia. There were some remarks in connection with television without any particular specifications of problems. I would like to say that there have been no major criticisms.

[Announcer] So you said that they supported all Croatian moves. Then how can you explain that Croatia's guest status to the Council of Europe was frozen.

[Granic] We should note that some parliamentarians initiated a process for the expulsion of Croatia, or for it to be denied special guest status. However, the special guest status remained; at the level of our bureau it has been frozen for a certain period of time, but envoys for Croatia have been appointed. I believe, that if we achieve some progress in connection with Bosnia-Herzegovina, that the process of admitting Croatia as a permanent member to the Council of Europe will be immediately resumed.

[Announcer] Mr. Granic, thank you very much for being a guest of the Slikom na Sliku program.

Martic Elected Serb Krajina President

LD2501181394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Knin, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Milan Martic has been elected president of the republic of Serb Krajina, the third since its founding. According to the official figures of the Republican Election Commission in last Sunday's election Martic won 104,234 and Milan Babic, the other candidate 97,377 votes. [passage omitted]

Martic Comments

AU2501204794 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Report by Petko Koprivica]

[Excerpts] [Koprivica] No more worries and guessing. The republic of Serbian Krajina has a new president. He is 39-year old lawyer Milan Martic, a man who embodies dignity, bravery, steadiness, firmness, and the freedom-loving spirit of the Krajina residents [passage omitted]. Here is his first statement in the role of the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina:

[Martic] I believe that the changes I have promised will be experienced very soon because I want capable, intelligent, and above all, honorable people to join forces. I know that they are everywhere in the republic of Serbian Krajina, in the republic of Srpska, and in Serbia, and I know a good many of these people wish to help. I am not important, it is these people who matter and what we have accomplished thus far. I believe that we will succeed in all this and that the republic of Serbian Krajina will soon take its place in this unified Serbian country.

[Koprivica] Do you expect, now that the people have expressed their desire that you be the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, that the negative tendencies

in this region created over the last year or two will subside and the people will turn to real issues such as defense, reconstruction, and finally, the merging of Krajina with its core, Serbia?

[Martic] I am firmly convinced that this will be the case. Personally, I am not one to bear a grudge. Those people who have perhaps been misled and deceived by something that was not true and had no grounds, will finally understand. I believe that we will all very soon tackle these common goals. All the current negative tendencies will soon disappear and the people who might have been misled will understand. I am convinced that this program must succeed.

[Koprivica] It goes without saying that the residents of the republic of Serbian Krajina, with the election of Milan Martic as president, have won another great and historic victory that should at the same time be understood as a message to the world that not a single inch of the present territory of this most western Serbian land will ever again, under any circumstances, be part of Croatia.

Foreign Minister Speaks at European Parliament

LD2501145294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] A delegation of the Croatian parliament, led by deputy speaker Zarko Domljan, is to take part today in the proceedings of the parliamentary session of the Council of Europe. The situation in the former Yugoslavia will be discussed on the basis of the introductory speech by Thorvald Stoltenberg, one of the cochairmen of the Geneva conference.

The office of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe yesterday made a decision to freeze Croatia's current status until further notice. This means that the decision to remove its status as a special guest was not implemented, but also that the procedure to receive Croatia as a full member of the Council of Europe has been suspended.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic warned at the European Parliament in Strasbourg of negative consequences of a possible withdrawal of the UN units from Bosnia-Herzegovina and demanded a wider mandate for the world organization's forces in establishing peace. We support all decisions of the NATO alliance and humanitarian activities by the United Nations, Granic said and added that Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina upholds humanitarian activities.

Granic stressed that there are no units of the Republic of Croatia in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but that there are volunteers within the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], underlining that there are volunteers from many European countries in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Croatian foreign minister expressed support for the continuation of the peace negotiations in Geneva, where pressure should be intensified on the parties in the negotiations to sign a peace agreement.

Valentic, Drnovsek Comment on Ljubljana Talks

AU2501215094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] A Croatian Government delegation led by Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic visited Slovenia today. It discussed acute mutual problems with our government representatives. After the talks both prime ministers— Valentic and Drnovsek—held a news conference in the presence of foreign ministers Granic and Peterle. Tomaz Gerden reports:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] The first talks following a long freeze in relations have not, as it was also expected, brought any significant changes and progress. Despite this, today's meeting was according to Mr. Valentic nevertheless important. The Croatian Government will strive for the best possible, friendly relations. The trade is particularly important as the economies of both countries complement each other and poor relations harm Slovenia as well as Croatia. Prime Minister Valentic also mentioned the problem of the Krsko nuclear power plant. Croatia does not disavow the debt, he said. It hopes to pay one-third of it in the coming days and the rest gradually, and through compensations in kind if this proves suitable to both sides, until 1 August, when property relations are also supposed to be resolved.

Croatia considers the Ljubljanska Banka's debt to several hundreds of thousands of Croatian savers particularly pressing. Our neighbors will respect Slovene property in Croatia. Regarding holiday resorts, especially issues concerning land, they will negotiate in commissions. Dr. Drnovsek assessed today's talks as follows:

[Drnovsek] The talks were very intense and very concrete. We discussed all open issues between the two countries and singled out the most important ones. We started with the issue of the Krsko nuclear power plant; we discussed economic relations between the countries and efforts to sign an economic agreement that will also regulate the methods of payment in the shortest possible time. Both sides are interested in switching over to free trade in the next phase as quickly as possible, in much the same way that Slovenia has already agreed with some other countries.

[Gerden] They did not discuss drawing of borders separately. Minister Peterle particularly stressed that joint ownership over Piran Bay is not acceptable for Slovenia. A mixed commission will discuss borders on 15 February. On 7 February the governments are expected to meet again. The last date for the regulation of trade and legal-property issues is 1 August. The ministries of both sides will prepare their proposals in a month.

Today's meeting of both prime ministers, therefore, reanimated the stalled talks between the two countries. [end recording]

Zhirinovskiy Expected To Receive Visa

AU2501154894 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Jan 94

[Text] Russian rightist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, president and deputy of the Liberal Democratic Party, will arrive in Slovenia on Thursday [27 January]. We have learned that Zhirinovskiy has officially applied for the entry visa, which he will also be granted. For the time being it is not known whether the Slovene politicians have coordinated their views about this visit. In connection with the claim that Zhirinovskiy has allegedly sent a letter to some Slovene political institutions informing them of the visit, the Foreign Ministry says that this is not the case and that the Foreign Ministry has received no such letter. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is expected to remain in Slovenia until 1 February. He will be staying in Bled where he will be joined by sympathizers from all over Europe.

Federal

Envoy Cited on UNPROFOR Smuggling Inquiry

LD2501211994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1755 GMT 25 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—Branko Brankovic, ambassador at the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry, Tuesday [25 January] said that the investigation into malversations committed by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members had political, in addition to moral, aspects, as some U.N. force members had organized arms smuggling into Bosnia-Herzegovina in spite of the U.N. embargo on arms deliveries to the former Yugoslavia. This arms smuggling has helped Moslems arm themselves, Brankovic told Radio Yugoslavia. Brankovic also recalled that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had warned on time that someone within the UNPROFOR was involved in secreat arms deliveries to the Moslem forces in the civil war-torn former Yugoslav Republic.

After several months of investigtion, a special U.N. commission proved that some UNPROFOR members were involved in illegal traffic in fuel, passes for departure from the Moslem part of Sarajevo and stolen goods, as well as in prostitution. Brankovic said it was good to have the U.N secretary general order the investigation, as it has proved that only a small part of the UNPROFOR and not the entire force was involved in illegal activities.

Truths which had been hidden from the public for a long time are now being unveiled, as proved by the interview given by the former UNPROFOR Commander in Bosnia General Francis Briquemont to the WASHINGTON POST, unequivocally stating that only Bosnian Serbs abide by their commitments, Brankovic said. Without any doubt in many cases, UNPROFOR had been presenting to relevant U.N. bodies true reports on what was happening in the field in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, these reports were placed ad acta or passed over in silence, whether in UPROFOR headquarters in Zagreb or New York, Brankovic said.

It is to be expected that UNPROFOR reports will from now on get the green light on time, i.e. that the international public opinion will be informed of them, Ambassador Brankovic said.

Kosovo

Number of Typhoid Cases 'Growing Daily'

AU2501190494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 94 p 23

[Report by M. Antic: "Number of Persons Fallen Ill Growing"]

[Text] Pristina—The number of persons fallen ill with typhoid fever [trebusni tifus] in Stimlje in Kosovo-Metohija is growing daily. The number of diseased yesterday climbed to 28 and, according to Dr. Komnen Tmusic, director of the Institute for Protection of Health, we should expect a further increase in the number of patients in the coming days as it has transpired that the incubation period lasts longer than the usual two to three weeks. It appears that the incubation period in this case can even last up to 42 days, since the first persons to have fallen ill appeared at the beginning of December.

The life of none of the patients is endangered for the time being as they have received the necessary medical assistance. The source of the epidemic (a well in the Center for the Mentally Retarded in Stimlje) has also been sanitized. The employees and protegees of this center are now receiving water from water tankers. The physicians warn that the residents of Stimlje should avoid contacts with the families of persons who have fallen ill.

Yesterday, Dr. Tmusic warned that the epidemiologic situation in the province, especially in larger settlements, is very grave. Because of dirt in the towns and heaps of rubbish that nobody clears away in Pristina and in other towns, the number of rats has increased, as well as the number of stray dogs, among which some are also infected with rabies. He said that municipal governments and incumbent organs have been informed of all this, but that for the time being nobody is doing anything.

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